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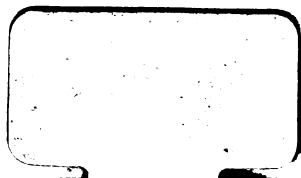
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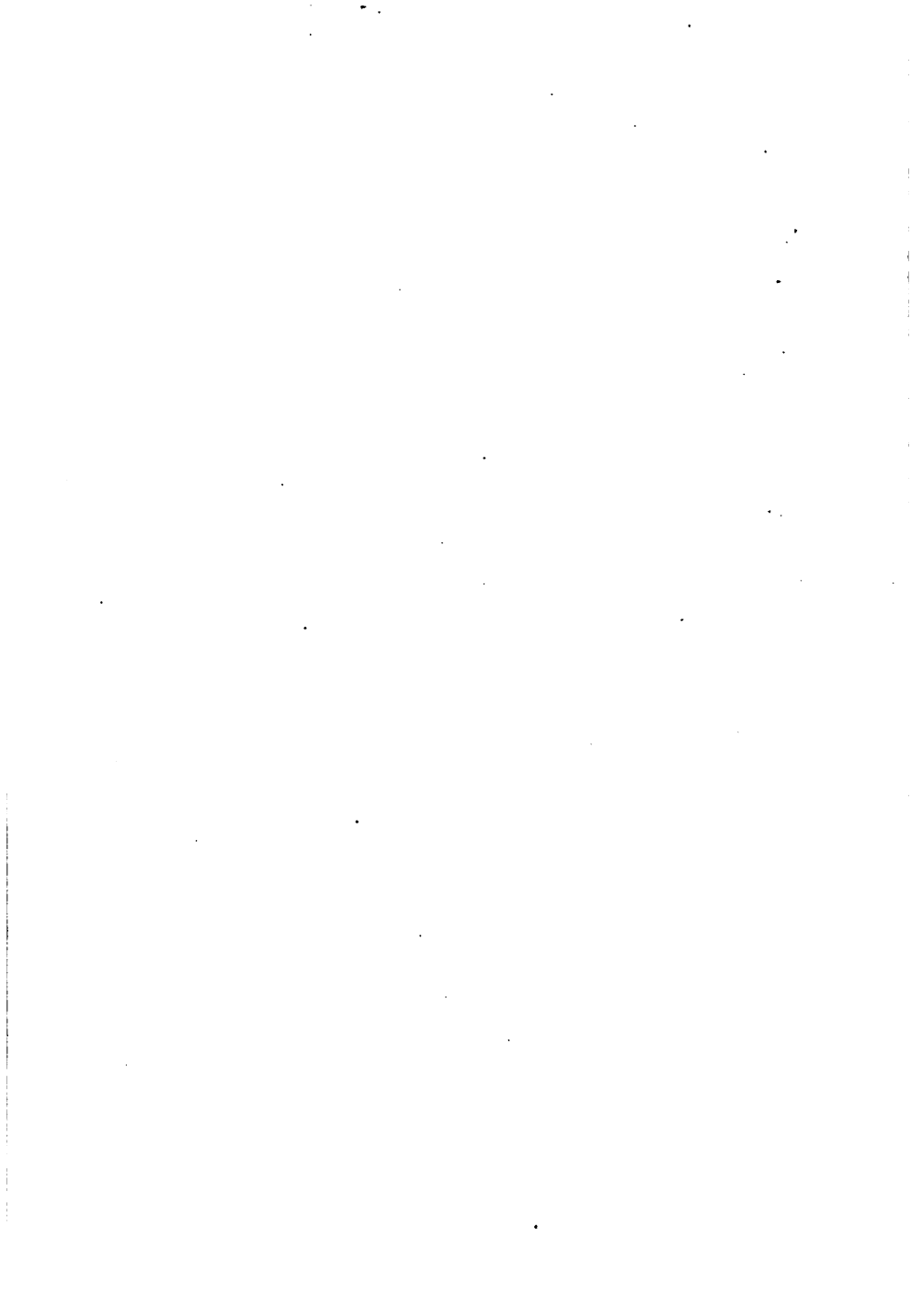
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THE
HEBREWS IN EGYPT

AND
THEIR EXODUS

BY ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER

PEORIA
E. S. WILLCOX
1897

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PREFACE.

We no longer believe in supernatural occurrences, with the single exception of such as are reported in the sacred scriptures. For whatever else seems strange and mysterious we have learned to seek an explanation in natural causes, and the habit has become so fixed in our modern modes of thought as to affect even our belief in those wonders hitherto accepted as matters of faith.

If what is called a miracle does not occur under the searching light of our day, can we then believe any longer in miracles ever; have not natural laws prevailed always and inexorably, even in the days of Moses? To many thoughtful persons who love and reverence their Bible this is still a disturbing question.

Of course, it may be said that nature, this infinitely mysterious universe wherein we move, is, itself, a miracle; but it is a miracle of law and order, of linked causes and effects, which we are slowly but surely learning to comprehend.

The miracles, wonders, incongruities and contradictions found in the Pentateuch, in the narrative of the Hebrews in Egypt and their exodus, have long been a stumbling-block to believers — a favorite hunting ground for scoffers.

It may matter little whether or not those miracles and wonders be true, but it does matter a great deal if a doubt concerning any part — a large part, indeed — of the scripture narrative should carry with it general disbelief, a casting away of what is good and true and edifying in the sacred

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book of Christendom, a burning up of the wheat and chaff together.

The following essay is an attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff, if it be chaff, in the so-called five books of Moses; to find, if there be not, half buried under later legendary accretions, or interpolations made for a purpose, a reasonably credible, historic narrative, which may be accepted with as much confidence as any other chapter of history so ancient; whether or not, indeed, the compilers of the Pentateuch were writing history or making up a story out of old traditions in order to impress certain lessons upon the minds of their contemporaries among the Babylonian captives; to carry a point, in fact.

There is much in the essay that will not be new to biblical scholars, except the weaving of it into one consistent piece with Mr. Thayer's own original argument.

That argument is, in brief, that, owing to the strong race feeling which, even down to our own time, has been a striking characteristic of the Jews, the genealogies of the Hebrew families were the one most carefully recorded, most uniformly coherent, consistent and jealously preserved part of their history; that here we shall find firm ground to stand on, if anywhere; that the annals of the Pharaohs as now accepted by Egyptologists, support and confirm these genealogies, and that through these is to be traced the real thread of historic truth, following which we may emerge from another wilderness more bewildering than that of the exodus.

And if the genealogies be accepted as trustworthy data, it follows from a careful study of them, that there were no four hundred years of dwelling in the land of Egypt—hardly more than two hundred; no subjecting of the half nomadic, wealthy cattle kings, sons of Jacob, to the degradation of Egyptian slavery—that refers to a kindred race

brought captive from Palestine by former Pharaohs, who were not lineal descendants of Jacob, but made children of Israel by adoption after the departure from Egypt; and there was no such enormous multiplication of pure-race Hebrews as to amount in two hundred years to two millions, who gathered in the night at Succoth, crossed the Red Sea in another night and fed on manna forty years in the wilderness.

Following the Hebrews in their wanderings from the land of Goshen to the Jordan, and, with equal patience and ingenuity unraveling the tangled skein of the narrative, the author shows what was the probable basis of fact — the kernel of truth — in the account of the crossing of the Red Sea, in the events at Sinai, the destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, the story of Balaam and other marvelous stories.

It will be seen, that while the author does not hold to the usually accepted views concerning the Pentateuch, he is very far from sympathizing with the so-called destructive school of criticism. His argument is, on the contrary, constructive and preservative. The essay is the fruit of many years of reflection and study, and is published with the serious object of assisting the inquiring youth of our American Bible classes over a difficult place and thus to a more correct understanding of the Bible narrative.

That there is some basis of fact for the wonderful stories thrust into the narrative by the compilers of the Pentateuch, hundreds of years after the exodus, the author firmly believes; and, also, that an honest effort to discover the actual facts and free them from fictitious accretions cannot but be welcome to all sincere worshippers of the truth.

E. S. WILLCOX.

Peoria, Ill.,
March, 1897.

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THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT AND THEIR EXODUS.

CHAPTER I.

NORTHEASTERN EGYPT.

Of the maps purporting to show the topography of Egypt in the era of Moses, which are republished and distributed by myriads annually, not one has come under the observation of the writer, which has been corrected by the results of the investigations of the last fifty years. The authors of these maps never took into account the dates carefully noted in the Hebrew records, nor the possible rate of progress that the Hebrews could effect on their marches; their maps, therefore, represent utterly impossible movements and are simply absurd. This remark, however, applies more particularly to the so-called "Wanderings," and the present discussion may properly begin with a short chapter on the topography of Northeastern Egypt—let us say in the time of Mineptah II.¹

The Egypt of the Pentateuch was little, if any, more than the Nile Delta, and its capital in Mineptah's time was Zoan-Tanis. The seven mouths of the Nile, the eastern and western of which gave the form of the Delta, had each at its outlet, says Diodorus, a fortified city; that upon the eastern, the Pelusiatic, being Pelusium. "The eastern side of

¹ See Note iii.

Egypt (*i. e.* the Delta) the king, (Sesostris) protected against the invasions of the Syrians and Arabs, by a wall which he carried from Pelusium to Heliopolis through the desert, 1,500 stadia long."¹

This wall followed the curve of the river. Its existence is amply confirmed by the Hebrew writers. Wall in Hebrew is Shur, and from this came the expressions "in the way to Shur;" "from Havilah to Shur;" "as thou goest unto Shur even unto Egypt." It gave name also to the northern part of the desert, east of Egypt—the Wilderness of Shur. This wall will prove to be an important landmark in our inquiries. The country between the wall and the hills to the south, Herodotus' Arabian mountains, was held to be a part of Arabia even in the time of Strabo: "The land between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf is already Arabia," he says.

The canal constructed by the Pharaoh whom Herodotus calls Necho, was completed through this Arabia from the Nile near Bubastus to its outlet into the Arabian Gulf. Exodus I. 11, proves this: for the oppressed children of Israel built its eastern port, Pithom. Herodotus, as we shall soon perceive, found the canal in operation not only to Patumos (Pithom) but thence north to a point near Pelusium, whence it had connection with the harbor of that city.

The confusion of his translators in regard to the canal has arisen from a misunderstanding of this sentence, "Now Necho ceased digging it *in the middle of the work* because of the oracle, that he was working for the barbarian."² If that middle was half way between Bubastus and Pithom, the oracle is nonsense; but if it was at Pithom, at the point where the canal turned northerly to Pelusium, it was sagacious; for, if the northern outlet fell into the hands of an

¹ Diodorus i. 57.

² Euterpe, 156.

enemy, it would open a water-way to the heart of Egypt as in our day Wolseley has demonstrated.

This chapter of Herodotus is confused, probably because its text is corrupt. Diodorus makes all clear. From the Pelusiatic mouth an artificial canal leads into the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. The first attempt to construct the same was by Necho, son of Psammetichus; after him the Persian Darius carried the work to a certain point, left it, however, incomplete at its terminus, because he was assured that cutting through the narrow earthen barrier would lead to an inundation of all Egypt; for he was made to believe that the Red Sea was higher than the Egyptian. Later, Ptolemy II. completed the canal and caused a lock, constructed with great skill, to be placed in the most suitable position.¹ So, too, Strabo: "Artemidorus says: First, when one comes from Pelusium there is a canal, which fills the so-called lakes by the marshes; they lie to the left of the great stream (the Pelusiatic branch) above Pelusium in Arabia." These two lakes are manifestly Balah and Timsah. "The Ptolemaian kings completed the cutting (through the dunes) and made the passage closable, so that who wished could sail into the outer sea unhindered and also return."²

As the result of these reasonings, the facts are indisputable that, long before Mineptah's time, the Necho canal was completed to the Arabian Gulf: that this gulf was a prolongation of the Gulf of Suez to and including the present Lake Timsah; that Wesseling's emendation of Herodotus' text, supported by two codices, is correct, viz.: "at the Arabian city Patumos it (the canal) flows *into* the Red Sea," and that the Red Sea here is the Arabian gulf above named.

It is now to be proved that this extended still farther

¹ Lib. i. 33.

² Lib. xvii.

north to and including what is now Lake Balah, and that biblical maps should be corrected accordingly.

Some two centuries before Herodotus wrote, Isaiah prophesied: "And Jahveh shall destroy the tongue of the Egyptian Sea, he shall uplift his hand over the river (the Nile) and with his mighty (or scorching) wind shall smite it in its seven streams, so that one may cross it in shoes. And there will be a path for the remnant of his people which has survived from Assyria, so as there was to Israel in the day when he came up hither from the land of Egypt."¹

This prophecy as to the seven Nile streams in the Delta was substantially fulfilled long ages since; and as to the Tongue, so completely that nothing exists which by remote analogy can now be so named. What, then, was this Tongue? Simply the Arabian Gulf, extended north and included Lake Balah. If it be objected that the Egyptian sea was the adjacent part of the Mediterranean, this is true of Diodorus and other Greek writers, but Isaiah was not bound to use names invented by the Greeks long after his time, or he should have written Tanis for Zoan, Memphis for Noph and Neilos for the River. The lakes along the line of the Suez canal remain to attest the truth of his prophecy.

Wherever in the English Old Testament the words Red Sea occur, the Hebrew is Jam Suph—Sea of Suph. Suph is the flag and bulrush of Ex. II. 3-5, Isaiah XIX. 6, and other passages, a fresh water plant, some say the papyrus. A sea of suph is, therefore, a sea of fresh water plants, that is, of fresh water. When Egypt (the Delta) was relieved from the plague of locusts, an exceeding strong west wind swept the insects into the Jam Suph. A sea, gulf or lake of fresh

¹ Isa. xi. 15. See Note iv.

water, then, lay east of the Delta, manifestly Isaiah's "Tongue."

Yet the existence of such a sheet of water has been strenuously denied within the last few years, unless in pre-historic times.

It is objected that there is no evidence of tilting of strata to account for its disappearance. None is required; the encroachments of the desert sands driven by easterly winds account for it fully. Besides, in the alluvial deposits of great river deltas, there are no solid strata to be tilted. As subsidence continues for long ages after they have become habitable, the sinking of ancient cities in the Nile delta infers no rise elsewhere.

Another objector cites Rosière, a geologist of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798, to the effect that, if the Red Sea ever reached Lake Timsah, it must have swept away all barriers to the Mediterranean. Indeed? How then did the Isthmus of Suez come into existence? By a special fiat of the Almighty? Wisdom did not die with the savants of that expedition. Another of them, General Rognier, made Napoleon believe like Darius that the high level of the Red Sea made a Suez canal impracticable. How any man, who can see in the morning and evening of the same day, that Cape Cod and Sandy Hook are not yet obliterated, can cite Rosière approvingly, is a puzzle.

Again: The traces of an ancient canal near Suez are supposed to prove that no natural water-way existed in historic times from the Bitter Lakes south; but this was the work of the Ptolemies long after Isaiah's predictions were fulfilled. Diodorus, to his notice of the entrance into the canal from the Mediterranean by a lock, adds: "the stream that passes through the canal is called Ptolemaeus, after its constructor, and at its outlet (by Suez) lies a city named

Arsinoe." Of this Herodotus, of course, knows nothing, it was long after his time.

Further: in excavating the Suez canal a ledge of limestone near the Bitter Lakes had to be blasted through for a passage. The weight of this as an objection is not apparent. As the hollow in which those lakes lie is several miles wide, it is not at all surprising that Lesseps' engineers did not happen to strike the ancient channel, which, even if too shallow by nature, would have been but a slight impediment to such workers in stone as the ancient Egyptians.

It has also been asserted that the Nile canal could not have changed the waters of a prolongation of the Gulf of Suez from salt to fresh. Strabo, who traveled in Egypt in the time of Caesar Augustus, was of a different opinion. He says the canal "flows through the so-called Bitter Lakes, which, namely, were previously bitter; but when the said canal was excavated, they changed through the mingling of the water of the river, and are now rich in fish, and full of aquatic birds." The remains of Red Sea fauna found in Lesseps' excavations prove the extension north, in some ancient period, of the Gulf of Suez—while the relics of hippopotami and crocodiles were abundant enough to demonstrate that later it became the habitat of these fresh water animals. The names alone, Jam Suph and Crocodile Lake, are traditional evidence of the fact.

The canal was sufficiently broad and deep for two triremes to pass each other, and the current during the months of Nile inundation must have been very strong. It brought Nile deposits to the sandy shores of the Tongue—Nile seeds and roots that planted themselves in that soil, and Nile animals that lived among and upon those plants. It did, therefore, freshen the waters.

If other objections have been raised to Graetz's Jam Suph, since his article upon it appeared in Vol. I. of his Jewish history in 1874, they have escaped notice.

There is another point to be considered. If the Jam Suph did, in fact, extend to and include Lake Balah, it follows that there was no other entrance into Egypt by land south of Pelusium, than by the narrow passage between the Shur and that lake. That passage was then, as now, the great caravan route northeast to Philistia and Canaan. If the expressions, "in the way to Shur" and the like, refer to that route, they have no significance in the premises; but they do not—they all refer to a southern route that in the desert Et Tih branched to Kadesh and Ezion-geber. West of Kadesh, spurs of the Judean mountains extend so far south, that caravans for Egypt had to move from that point southwesterly to the parallel of Suez to pass them by the Wady El Arish. If it be true, that only in prehistoric times our Jam Suph existed, and in its stead there were, as now, the lakes with tracts of desert between, why did not caravans move directly from the Wady to Suez, or to one of the open spaces south or north of Lake Timsah, instead of turning away northwest across a hundred miles of rocky, sandy, arid desert? Our answer is: they took that road and entered Egypt by the Shur passage because there was then no other.

Can objectors present a better reason?

Baker Greene expresses what seems to be a common opinion, thus: "We must be careful to avoid crediting the ancients with our knowledge of geography. Maps were unknown in Palestine, and the Hebrew scribes had no more idea of the configuration of the coast line of the Red Sea, with its two gulfs, than we have of the precise boundaries of the lands adjoining the Arctic Sea."

Even supposing the suggestion as to Isaiah and the Tongue be but a fancy, is Mr. Greene correct?

A quadrant of a circle with its center at Jerusalem, and a radius of hardly 300 miles, includes the head of the Red Sea, with its two great gulfs, and the entire Nile Delta. There was continual commercial and political intercourse between Palestine and Egypt, certainly from the time of Solomon, whose vessels, sailing from Ezion-geber, navigated those seas. Read Ezekiel XXVII. and judge if the geographical knowledge of educated Jews in Babylon could have been so meagre as Mr. Greene makes it. In fact, all the captives of middle age taken thither by Nebuchadnezzar had for several years before been subjects of the Pharaoh of the day.¹ Our trouble with the position of so many places arises from their having been so well known to the B. compilers and their readers as to need no notes of identification.²

The only point of much importance still to be determined here is Etham. The one entrance into Egypt by land must, of course, have been defended by a fortress. That it was so is matter of record in the time of Mineptah II. in an official's report, given by Brugsch, that he had allowed certain Shasu to enter Egypt through the Chetam of Mineptah Hotephima.

"Chetam" is fortress, says Brugsch. He also cites from Oppert a not very intelligible inscription of Darius, the punctuation of which we venture slightly to change. "I gave command to excavate the canal from the river Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the sea that comes from Persia. Therefore this canal was excavated as I gave order thereto.

¹ II. Kings xxiii. 33 et seq.

² The compilers of the Great Roll will be cited hereafter as the B. compilers, and the compilers of Deuteronomy, as the D. compilers.

And I said: Go: dismantle the half of this canal from Bira to the Sea." If for "excavate" we read "continue" in the first line, it will give what we believe to be the true sense, viz: he orders the Nile canal to be continued north to the Mediterranean, the eastern part of which was then in Persian possession. If dismantled it was soon restored, since Herodotus found it in operation. This inscription is cited here because of the word "Bira." It is Persian, and is used in Nehemiah, Esther and Daniel for a royal palace; later by the Chronicler for "palace of the Lord God."¹ (Birah Javeh-Elohim.) The original signification was Fortress, and in those books is used precisely as in German, "Burg," a fortress, is the term applied to the imperial palace in Vienna. Darius' half of the canal then began at or passed near the Birah, Chetam or Fortress of Mineptah Hotephima, which Brugsch identifies with Chetam Daphnae, Jeremiah's Tahpanhes. This identification, however, is doubtful. If the position of Daphnae on Brugsch's map be correct the edge of the desert of Shur, the Darian canal and, therefore, the Bira were several miles east of it.

Graetz is of opinion, and supports it by strong arguments, that Baruch compiled the books of Kings and bore an important part, at least, in compiling the other books of the great roll. Many of the topographical notes scattered through it are such as only one, writing from personal knowledge, would be likely to make. After the death of Jeremiah he joined the exiles in Babylon. As Palestine was then so desolated "that no man passed through or returned,"² he journeyed to Babylon by the Shur-Kadesh-Dead-Sea route. He crossed the edge of the desert when he came with Jeremiah and now, after several years in Tahpanhes, he crossed

¹ I. Ch. xxix. 1, 19.

² Zech. vii. 12.

it again. If that fortress was Etham, why did he not write "Etham, which is Tahpanhes," as in five like cases in one chapter, Gen. XIV? That there are naturalized Egyptian words in the Bible, Hebraists have shown, and Brugsch's Etham for Chetam is reasonable and may well be one of them. But if Baruch did write "Etham on the edge of the wilderness" he knew whereof he wrote and it was not Daphnae.

Mr. Naville presents another hypothesis. He closes an argument with; "I believe, therefore, Etham to be the region of Athuma"¹ This region on his map is a Desert of Atuma occupying a broad space between Lakes Timsah and Balah and extending East and West indefinitely. This compels him, against all the authorities, to a new reading, and thus: "and they took their journey from Succoth and encamped in the edge of the wilderness of Etham." But this verse (Exodus XIII. 20), must be read in connection with the previous v. 17, 18, and the sense is: "Etham in the edge of the wilderness of the Jam Suph."

Mr. Naville supports his view by Numb. XXXIII. 8, "three days in the wilderness of Etham". This is more than offset by verse 6, "where the Hebrew text fully justifies the English version, Etham, which is in the edge, etc". The matter is very simple.

By Ex. XIII. 20, and Numb. XXXIII. 8, the wilderness of Etham and the Jam Suph were the same, or rather one was part of the other; and by Ex. XV. 22, both are wilderness of Shur. Shur was the name in general use for the great desert "as thou goest (from Kadesh) to Shur". The other names specified parts of it, as, in New England, towns specify parts of counties and counties parts of States. The verses cited are fatal to Mr. Naville's desert of Atuma,

¹ Store City Pithom, p. 24.

and strong arguments inferentially for our Jam Suph. They also suggest another possibility viz: that the note was not introduced by Baruch, but stood in the original record, perhaps with the definite article, and read thus: "*The* Etham which is in the edge of the wilderness" in contradistinction to the Etham (Chetam) Daphnae west of the Shur passage. At all events, assuming the Birah of the Darian Canal to be Etham, the movements of Moses in that quarter will not be difficult to follow.¹

True, no remains of it have been discovered, but this is not surprising. If constructed of bricks, the ravages of sandblasts account for its disappearance; if of stone, after the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy made it useless, it afforded a very convenient quarry for the construction of the lock by which Ptolemy connected the Darian canal with the sea.

For like reasons it may prove impossible to discover remains of the Shur; but mounds may yet be opened as at Daphnae, which will show the positions of its fortified gateways.

If the reasonings in this chapter do not produce conviction, they at all events justify us in assuming as a very probable hypothesis, that, in the time of Mineptah II. 1, the Gulf of Suez was prolonged to and included Lake Balah, and that this extension was the Jam Suph; 2, that between the Jam Suph and the wall of Sesostris was a passage several miles long, which was the only entrance into Egypt by land; 3, that the eastern end of this passage was defended by a military work, the Etham of the Hebrews, the Bira of Darius; 4, that north of the wall in the Delta, on the Tanaitic branch of the Nile, stood Zoan then the

¹ See Note v.

capital; 5, that the Necho canal was in operation from the Nile to Pithom, which stood on or near the shore of the Jam Suph, which was then much broader than the lakes that remain to represent it.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENEALOGIES.

Not satisfied by Ewald's nor even by Graetz's treatment of the Mosaic period of Hebrew history, and thoroughly disgusted with biblical commentators and the latest historians, whether orthodox or skeptical, we cast them all aside. Freeing the mind so far as possible from old notions and prejudices, we determine to study the record for ourself, with no other apparatus than a collection of different versions of the Old Testament in divers languages.

Omitting, of course, Deuteronomy and Ruth, we read carefully from Gen. XLVI. to I. Sam. IX. in search of some series of notices, some class of statements scattered through, no matter what, that is free from the incongruities and contradictions that seem everywhere to beset us. We find nothing, yet feel there must be this something could we but discover it, if what we read be in fact history, as we believe in spite of all hostile criticism. Again and again we return to the task and go over the same ground until we say with the preacher, "Much study is a weariness of the flesh." We will not despair; we persevere; so, at last comes a day when it flashes into the mind, try the genealogies, the despised genealogies, rejected alike by learned Rabbi, by protestant and papal Christian Doctor of Divinity.

Rabbi Philippon, commenting upon Exodus XII. 40, writes of them, "no weight can be granted them, they are not of the least significance as against that text," and much more to the same purpose.

Dr. Edward Robinson¹ rejects them by necessary implication, in rejecting the genealogies given in Mat. I. and Luke III. from Abraham to David, in which the two gospels agree, although he accepts both from David to Jesus where one gives twenty-seven the other forty-two generations. He rejects Ezra's genealogy of himself in favor of that given of his family by the chronicler, which one sees upon a moment's inspection increases Ezra's seventeengenerations from Aaron to twenty-three, by repetitions of the same names. It is evident that if Ezra "omits at least six generations" to cover the supposed period of Egyptian oppression, and "a similar omission is necessarily implied in the genealogy of David," it is also "necessarily implied" in all the genealogies of Jacob's descendants, between the advent in Egypt and the exodus. Dr. Robinson is therefore in full accord with Rabbi Philippon.

The Roman Catholic Bible of Allioli, the Vulgate with German translation and copious notes, by like implication rejects them. Yet his work is published "with the approbation of the Apostolic chair," and the recommendation of a long list of German Archbishops and Bishops. These three writers are cited because of their very high standing among the most orthodox Jewish and Christian authorities. Let us, nevertheless, consider the genealogies.

Upon the death of Jacob, the tribal organization followed, and his sons became Princes of Tribes; and this organization continued certainly until the division of the

¹See *Harmony of the Gospels*, p. 161-2. Riddle's Ed. 1887.

kingdom after the death of Solomon. Since birthright, or primogeniture, was religiously respected and upheld by all that race, it follows that the census takers and the military commanders named in the first and second chapters of Numbers, being heads of their tribes, were so many contemporary princes, successors of the patriarchs by right of inheritance.

The list of commissioners to explore Canaan gives us the names of twelve contemporaneous "heads of houses," a generation younger than the princes.

The commissioners appointed at the Jordan to divide Canaan are another list of contemporaries, all new names except Joshua, Caleb and Eleazar, and all princes of tribes. The tribal organization, therefore, remained perfect and unchanged when Joshua succeeded Moses as commander-in-chief.

Genealogies of houses and families are foreign to the design of the great roll, and whatever there is of the kind, the line of Levi excepted, is but incidental, and yet in all cases is directly against the hypothesis of half a dozen generations omitted in the lines of David and Ezra.

The genealogies are seemingly so prominent a feature in the historic books, that upon examination one is surprised at their paucity in the roll.

Therefore, upon tabulating such as can be the more easily made out, the result is meagre. Taking the Patriarchs as No. 1, we find:

by Ex. VI.	Levi to Phineas	6 generations.
" Numb. III. and XVI.	" " Korah	4 "
" " XXI.	" " Nahab and Abihu . .	5 "
" Ex. VI. and Lev. X.	" " Mishael and Elzaphan	4 "
" Numb. XXVI.	Reuben to Dathan and Abiram	4 "
" " XXVI.	Joseph to Jesar (or Abiezar) .	5 "
" Josh. VII. 16,	Judah to Achan	5 "
" " XVII. 8,	Joseph to Zelophahad . . .	6 "

It appears also from Joshua XIV. 7, 10, that Caleb was forty years old when on the commission to explore Canaan, and eighty-five at its conquest; and by Judges III. 9, Othniel the first of the Deliverers¹ was his nephew; of other Deliverers, Jephthah was the son of Gilead, therefore, of the fifth generation; Jair grandson of a daughter of Gilead, therefore of the seventh; Ehud fourth (or fifth) from Benjamin. Gideon, son of Joash, son of Jasar, also the seventh. In all these cases are six generations omitted? Which then is probably right, the B. Compilers or Dr. Robinson?

We now pass from the roll to the later books.

When Nehemiah came to Jerusalem it was determined that no member of the great families should settle in the capital who could not prove the purity of his descent. Hence the lists in Ezra's and Nehemiah's memoirs. As most of the tribes had disappeared, the genealogies are, of course, confined to the families in Babylon belonging to the few which they represented. Nehemiah VIII. copies Ezra II. as an authentic document. More than a century later the chronicler (IX. 1-17,) pays the same compliment to Nehemiah (XI. 3-19). The variations in the lists are simply errors of transcription, and omissions in one can be supplied from the others.

Now, neither of these three writers could have had any thought of confirming scattered notices in the roll; they wrote independently of it. Learned Hebraists assure us that the text of the Chronicles is very corrupt, especially in proper names; yet, whatever its corruptions, it nowhere impugns the concurrent evidence of other genealogies to the authenticity of those of David and Zadok.

In Ezra's genealogy of himself, his ancestor Zadok is (Levi being I.) of the fifteenth generation. The chronicler

¹ For "Judges" read "Deliverers" *passim*. Graetz.

makes it in the fourteenth, the name Azariah having dropped out of VI. 7 and 52; restore it and the two lists tally name for name. The repetitions of the chronicler, mentioned on a former page, all occur after Zadok, and do not affect the point in question. But he very curiously confirms both the genealogies of David and Zadok in I. Ch. VI. 33, et seq. by his notices of those whom David "set over the service of song." After Elkanah in v. 34, the eight names, Jeroham to Elkanah inclusive, must be rejected as a manifest repetition, and then we have

Levi, Kohath	He man	14 generations
" Gershom	Asaph	15 "
" Merari	Ethan	14 "

These correspond, allowing for differences in age, to

Judah, Pharez	Solomon	12 generations
Levi, Kohath	Zadok	15 "

Zadok was of a line of eldest sons. Pharez, ancestor of David, was begotten after the death of his three elder adult brothers. David was the youngest of seven brothers, and Solomon one of David's youngest sons. Thus the seeming discrepancy between the twelfth and fifteenth generations of Solomon and Zadok disappears.¹

It must now be clear that the genealogies, nowhere purposely, everywhere incidentally, sustain and confirm each other; that according to them, twelve or fourteen generations cover the entire period from Jacob's marriage with Leah to Solomon; and that, if Ezra.... omits at least six generations, (and a similar omission is necessarily implied in the genealogy of David), precisely the same error vitiates the genealogies Levi-Moses, Reuben-Dathan, Judah-Achan, Joseph-Gilead, Levi-Asaph, etc., etc. This is *reductio ad ab-*

¹ See. Note vi.

surdum unless the objections to accepting the genealogies are too solid and forcible to be overcome.

What are the objections?

I. By the covenant with Abraham Gen. XV. 13, his seed should serve in a strange land and be afflicted 400 years, but in the fourth generation (v. 16) his seed should return to Canaan. Here is a glaring contradiction, and a choice between the two statements must be made. Commentators,¹ without an exception known to the writer, have chosen the first, the four centuries of slavery, and made most lame and impotent attempts to reconcile the four generations with it. Now, look at the columns of names here following, in which those numbered were born in Egypt.

Judah	Levi	Joseph
Pharez	Kobath	1. Manasseh
Hezron	1. Amram	2. Machir
1. Ram	2. Aaron	3. Gilead
2. Aminadab	3. Eleazar	4. Jeser (or Abiezer)
3. Nashon	4. Phineas	
4. Salmon		

It was during the years of the exodus that Salmon, Phineas and Jeser grew up to manhood; that is, theirs was the generation of the exodus; therefore, unless the four centuries of slavery of Jacob's descendants be established, with the consequent suppression of six generations between Judah and Salmon, etc., the exodus did actually occur in the fourth generation of those descendants born in Egypt.

The Masoretic text of Ex. XII. 40, supports Gen. XV. 13, by making the sojourn in Egypt 430 years; *i. e.* the four centuries of bondage, plus thirty years from the advent of Jacob to the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph," and with that text targum Onkelos and Stephen (Acts VII. 6) agree.

¹ Authors of commentaries for popular use only are here meant.

Of the many ancient authorities against them few need be cited. The Jerusalem and Palestine targums and Paul (Gal. III. 17) make the 430 years cover the entire interval between the covenant with Abraham and the delivery of the law at Sinai. This sustains the conclusions of great Rabbis in Talmudic times, that the actual sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt was not more than 210, or at the most 280 years. So also Josephus: "A period of 240 years had elapsed from the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt (to the exodus), and of 415 years from the era of the entrance of Abraham into Canaan.¹ If we side with Paul, the four centuries of slavery disappear, and the first objection to the genealogies with them.

II. By Ex. XII. 37, the children of Israel at their departure from Egypt were about 600,000 on foot, men beside children, and a mixed multitude went up also with them. The objection to the genealogies here lies in this: they allow no time for the seventy descendants of Jacob to multiply in the aggregate to two or three millions. Considering the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of organizing so vast a multitude as described, in the time given, and, upon the long march, of subsisting it and of enforcing order and sanitary regulations, it would seem more rational to use the genealogies as an argument against the number.

Why may we not assume that there is an error in the number equivalent to adding a cipher to the right of a line of Arabic numerals, and read 60,000 for 600,000? The large number is preposterous upon the face of it. The Masoretic text is crazy for big numbers, and appears always to follow the copy of the roll, which gave the largest. Josephus did not. He writes: The number of the Hebrews was prodigious, there being sixty thousand (60,000) capable of bearing

¹ Antiq. ii. ch. 15. Thompson and Price's translation.

arms.¹ He is sustained by considerations that strangely seem to have escaped notice hitherto, and which best may be enforced by a simple illustration.

The area conquered by Moses and Joshua differs but slightly from the aggregate of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, which, by the census of 1880, contained a population of 2,682,916. The three states are divided into twenty-seven counties. Suppose each of these was a little independent kingdom, without allies and dependent on its own resources for defence, what resistance could it make against an army of 600,000 men, in the full vigor of manhood, hardened and disciplined by forty years of camp life, flushed already with victory and bent upon making, a "land flowing with milk and honey" their own? By Joshua XII. Canaan was divided among some forty petty kings and peoples, and yet the conquest was not complete.

Reading the enumeration of the separate tribal military forces in Numb. XXVI., in connection with the list of peoples "not driven out" in Judges I., and with the following narratives of subjugations and deliverances, one is not surprised at the widespread doubt of the historic value of it all. Consider a few examples. Judah crosses the Jordan with a force of 76,500 men and Simeon with 22,200, yet this allied army of 98,700 after seizing the highlands of Judea was not able to drive out "the inhabitants of the valley" nor soon after successfully resist Cushan-rishathaim of the small kingdom of Edom,² who held the two tribes in subjection eight years. Again: the army of Benjamin was 45,600, that of Reuben 43,730. Yet Benjamin could not drive out the Jebusites, and the two tribes with nearly 90,000 soldiers were

¹ Antiq. ii. 12.

² The text reads Mesopotamia which is nonsense. Written in Hebrew letters, Edom easily becomes Aram in transcribing.

conquered by Moab and held subject eighteen years. The reader can pursue the matter for himself. The English version of Judges adds to the absurdity by its readings, as if the various invaders subjugated "all Israel" and each deliverer "judged" the whole land. This was the fact in no single instance. The subjugations were all local and tribal, and the deliverer became merely the head of his tribe for the time being, primogeniture being waived in his favor; and thus he became a "ruler in Israel." Graetz has treated this topic with his usual learning, sagacity and perspicuity.¹ Accepting the Masoretic statement that Joshua led an army of 600,000 to the conquest and consequently two to three millions of people to the colonization of Canaan, the stories of the partially unsuccessful invasion and of the subjugations by the adjoining small kingdoms are altogether incredible; but drop the cipher, accept the 60,000 of Josephus, reduce Judah's 75,600 to 7,650, Simeon's 22,200 to 2,220 and so forth through the list, and all becomes rational and credible history. The second objection to the genealogies thus loses all force.

III. Jephthah's "300 years" in Judges XI. 26, to which Baker Greene devotes so much space, are held to be fatal to the genealogies. The Masorites give it thus, certainly; and it accords with their other large numbers. But do they begin the chapter with a falsehood—"And Gilead begat Jephthah?" Both statements cannot be true. Drop the cipher, read 30 for 300, and there is no trouble.

IV. By I. Kings VI. 1, Solomon began to build the temple in the 480th year after the exodus, which corresponds to the other long periods of the Masoretic text; but how to make it out has for ages been a puzzle alike to Jewish and Christian commentators, never yet satisfactorily solved. Of

¹ *Geschichte*, i. Note 7.

course the genealogies have been ignored, and the book Judges made to cover a period of from two to four centuries. Accept the genealogies, and a, if not *the*, solution instantly suggests itself. The generations Judah-Solomon are twelve, giving, at 40 years per generation, 480 years as the interval from Judah's advent in Egypt to Solomon. The Masorites, to save their four centuries of oppression, read "came out of" instead of "came into" the land of Egypt.

V. This objection is the story of Joseph taken in connection with Ex. I. Why should the story be fatal to the genealogies, rather than the genealogies to the story? There is a conflict of statements between which a choice must be made, and he who rejects the one class is no more faithless to scripture than he who rejects the other. By the story, Joseph, seventeen years old, was sold into Egypt; at thirty is prime minister; at forty his father and brothers join him in Egypt. By Gen. XXIX., XXX and XXXV. all the sons of Jacob except Benjamin were born in Padan-Aram, where the Patriarch remained twenty years, during the first seven of which he was not married; consequently the eleven sons were born by their four mothers within a period of thirteen years; Judah, Leah's fourth son, might possibly have been a grandfather in Joseph's fortieth year; but by the story of Tamar (Ch. XXXVIII.) his three elder sons were adults some years before the birth of Pharez, who brought his two sons Hezron and Hamul into Egypt. In point of time therefore Hezron may have been a great-grandson. Judah was, therefore, then at the least seventy years of age and Joseph but six to eight years younger.

In Judah's pathetic appeal to Joseph, Benjamin is "the child of Jacob's old age," "a little one;" seven times he calls him "the lad." A few weeks later Jacob brings this little one, in whose life his own was bound up, and the boy

brings with him ten sons, but "sons" is used here (XLVI. 21) in its broad sense and the ten are in part grandsons. By this showing was Joseph forty or over seventy years of age? All the commentators known to the writer agree that Jacob was sixty years of age when he returned from Padan-Aram with Joseph and his brethren, and upon his arrival in Egypt he tells Pharaoh that he is one hundred and thirty. By this also Joseph is over seventy. In this conflict of statements where does the truth lie?

To decide for the story of Joseph is to condemn as false not only all the incidental short, dry but consistent genealogical notes in that part of the roll, but all matter of fact based upon or connected with them. To decide against it simply relegates it to the category of beautiful Hebrew narratives—Ruth, Esther, Judith, Susannah, Tobit—written with an ethical purpose, but not as history. They who reject it point to its awkward introduction into the roll and see in it further evidence of that later redaction of the roll before spoken of. They also say: Given a Semitic minister, a famine in his time and the Egyptian story of "the two brothers," translated by Rougé, and copied by Brugsch, and there is ample material for the brilliant Hebrew imagination to work up into the touching, romantic story of Joseph.

VI. The first chapter of Exodus is supposed to contain insuperable objections to the genealogies. It is held to record chronologically the death of Joseph and "all that generation," the multiplication of "the children of Israel," the accession of a Pharaoh,¹ who, not having known Joseph, reduced the Hebrews to slavery, etc. The chapter is but an introduction to the story of Moses and a narrative of the first year of the exodus, which ignores the tribes and their princes. Verse 6 affirms that the exodus did not occur until

¹Stephen so understood it, Acts vii. 17, 18.

the Patriarchs were all deceased; Verse 7, that "the children of Israel," not necessarily the descendants of Jacob, as will hereafter appear, had greatly multiplied; v. 8, may and probably should be read very differently.

The Masorites give it as in the English version: "Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph," manifestly assuming his death. But the targum Onkelos reads: "Who did not hold valid (or confirm) the decree of Joseph:" the other targums (with which Paul agrees in the matter of the 430 years) have it: "Who took no knowledge of Joseph and walked not in his laws." The Masorites made this text conform to their belief in the four centuries of oppression; the targums suppose a Pharaoh succeeding his father, who pursued a new policy and dismissed the Egyptian Bismarck; they make the text correspond to Gen. L. 23: And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation; the children also of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born upon Joseph's knees. This supports their rejection of the Hebrew slavery, and also a rather surprising deduction from the Levitic genealogy in Ex. VI. 16-20. Joseph died aged 110, Levi 137 and Amram 137. Moses and Aaron (v. 20) were, through their mother, of the third generation. Joseph and Levi, therefore, lived until after the birth of Moses, and Amram was alive at the exodus! There is nothing whatever to the contrary, unless the note, that all the patriarchs died before the exodus, when Moses was eighty years old, be so considered.

If there be other objections of any force against the authenticity of the genealogies in general, or those of David and Ezra in particular, either in the record or the commentaries upon it, they have escaped notice. The case has been fairly and candidly presented, and it is for the reader to decide for or against Rabbi Philippson and Dr. Robinson.

But before deciding, he must consider certain positive statements of the chronicler, Ezra and Nehemiah, and determine whether they are falsehoods or not.

The chronicler says of certain families of Simeon (in the revised version), they have their genealogies;¹ of Reuben "by their families when the genealogy of their generations was reckoned;" of divers families, "all these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel;" the Benjamites "were reckoned by genealogies after their generations." "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies and behold they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah."

Ezra's reason for excluding certain persons from the priesthood is, "these sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found; Ezra's own genealogy and those of the families named in chap. VII. of course were found.

Nehemiah "found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first to Jerusalem." Elsewhere he speaks of such as "could not show their fathers' houses," who sought their register in vain, and states that the Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua, were recorded chief of the fathers: also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian. The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written in the book of the Chronicles, even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib. This of course was not the Chronicles known to us. They were written long after Nehemiah's time.

If the Hebrew Bible proves anything, it proves that family registers were kept by the descendants of the patriarchs from, at the least, the era of their sojourn in Egypt.

¹ Vienna Heb. German Bible, "genealogical registers."

If the genealogies be authentic the inferences and deductions from them are very startling and surprising; some of the more striking are these:

I. Since they render the four centuries of Hebrew Slavery impossible and reduce the period of the deliverers (Book of Judges), at least two centuries, the era of Jacob and his sons is brought down 600 years later than the accepted date and long after the Hiksos' rule in Egypt.

II. That era, therefore, was that of the greatest development of Egyptian commerce, art and letters; the period when the trade by land and sea opened a vast market to the Hebrews in Goshen for the vendible products of their herds and flocks.

III. The Hebrews of the exodus, if we may trust the story of their ancestors, and of their own contributions to the sanctuary at Sinai, were immensely wealthy. Abraham is described as a nomad chief or sheik, able to arm 318 servants "born in his house." Isaac was his principal heir and greatly enlarged the property,¹ which was divided between Esau and Jacob, both being already rich men. If "the house of Jacob," on its possession "in the best of the land" in the land of Rameses, on the great lines of commerce, did not "increase abundantly and wax exceeding mighty" in wealth, it differed strangely from its descendants to this day. That in the lapse of three generations, that is, even before the death of Joseph, those Hebrews were so reduced as in the next generation to be scattered through all Egypt gathering stubble, requires vast powers of credulity to believe.

IV. The young men, future princes and heads of houses, dwelling in Goshen, safe from the contamination of the Egyptian filthy cultus, would nevertheless share the ad-

¹ Gen. xxvi. 12, 13.

vantages of Joseph's children for mental culture and development. There was no necessity, for instance, for Moses to be adopted by a Pharaoh's daughter, to secure a liberal education.

V. Relieved of the incubus of the 400 years' slavery, common sense is free to doubt another generally accepted opinion, viz: the apostasy of the Hebrews from the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their fall into the abject superstitions and horrible impurities of the Egyptian worship. That God was El Shaddai,¹ and the patriarchs and their children remained true to him. In Exodus, V. 1-4, Pharaoh knows nothing of Jahveh, God of Israel (Jahveh Eloi Israel), but does know the God of the Hebrews (Eloi Hebarim).

VI. The older patriarchs executed the priests' office and offered sacrifices, like Melchizedek and Jethro, for their families and dependents. When their descendants became numerous and formed a federal tribal organization they established an order of priesthood. In I. Sam. II. 27, 28, we read: "And there came a man of God unto Eli and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's houses? And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to offer upon mine altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me? and did I give unto the house of thy father all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel?" If this does not refer to Eli's ancestors, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron, to whom then? It is in vain to search for anything that points at apostasy from El Shaddai of Jacob's family, whatever the case may have been

¹Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, and other texts in the Hebrew Bible, particularly Ex. vi. 3.

with "the children of Israel" and Jahveh. The distinction here implied will be explained hereafter.

VII. The priests were, of course, the educated class, the deliverers of oracles, the interpreters of dreams, signs and omens, the recorders of events, the natural rulers in a theocratic republic so long as exclusive knowledge was power; then, as down to our own times, only vincible by, and in the degree of, the general intellectual rise, development and progress.

VIII. Long before the era of the patriarchs, the Canaanites had invented the alphabet, which came into general use among the Semitic peoples from the Phoenician coast eastwards.¹

If it cannot be directly proved that the Hebrews brought it with them into Egypt, and also the custom of writing upon skins obtained from their own herds and flocks, if positive evidence be lacking that they adopted the Egyptian custom of recording events of importance to them and carefully preserved the genealogies of their families in the priests' registers, then to deny these propositions in the light of the preceding remarks is impossible.

Has it never occurred to the reader that the cities of the priests and Levites scattered among the tribes, as detailed in Joshua XXI., were the seats of public registries? That, in the more important at least, the young Levites were educated for their future functions? And that thus a demand for copies of old documents would arise?

One occasion for a duplication of all the more important manuscripts, it may well be supposed, was after the taking of the ark by the Philistines. Samuel gathered at Rama a society of zealous Levites, and the Aaronite priests collected at Nob, near Jerusalem. Here we find the germs

¹ Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, cited by Graetz.

of the prophetic and priestly parties, which in process of time were to become so hostile. That Samuel, who so long held in various places what may be called a "court of appeals,"¹ caused a transcription of the manuscripts at Shiloh to be made for use at Rama—the originals remaining in the possession of the high priest—cannot be doubted. That he enriched the collection by memoirs of his own is on record.²

The genealogies so greatly reduce the interval between the patriarchs and Samuel as to remove all improbability of the preservation by the priests of parchments through that period. The generations Judah—Jesse are but ten in number. The writer has on his shelves paper books whose age covers the reigns of eighteen British sovereigns, Henry VII. to Cromwell, Charles II. to Victoria.

Kittel very happily suggests that copies, made at a later period for the prophet schools in the northern kingdom, substituted Elohim for Jahveh to avoid the use of "the unspeakable name." This satisfactorily explains the former existence of Elohist and Jahvist manuscripts upon which so much has been written. Thus we come again to the conviction that the B. compilers had before them something better than vague traditions, songs of miracles and half fabulous stories; and the question of the authenticity of the genealogies has become one of grave, indeed, of the very highest importance.

Are the genealogies authentic?

Nothing but the exigencies of certain other questions ever did or could cast a doubt upon them. They speak for themselves, especially when compared with parts of the records supposed to overthrow them. To facilitate such a comparison the citations above made are here tabulated.

¹ I. Sam. vii. 16.

² Ib. x. 25.

Column A. contains only genealogies that are clearly and positively stated; B. shows the passages which have discredited them. The disparity in their numbers is to be noted. It is left to the sagacity of the attentive Bible reader to discover the many other passages which more or less directly confirm A., and such, if any, as support B.

It is too late to deny this conflict of statements—it has too long been openly or tacitly admitted. Either A. or B. must be accepted unless indeed both be rejected. The new school of critics already rejects both and must do so or their vocation is gone.

Considering the inevitable differences in the transcriptions brought to Babylon, and the variations in the roll of the B. compilers, in the following centuries, as is shown by the ancient versions, by the targums, by Stephen, Paul and Josephus, the harmony of the genealogies can only be explained by their truth; otherwise it is a phenomenon that stands alone in literature.

- A.
1. Births of Jacob's sons. Gen. XXIX. 32, to XXX. 24, XXXV. 23-26.
 2. List of those who came into Egypt. Gen. XLVI. 8, 27, Ex. I. 1-5.
 3. Genealogies of the Jacobites I. Ch. II. to VIII. inclusive.
 4. Aaron and Moses. Ex. VI. 14-27. Numb. XXVI. 57, 61. I. Chron. XXIII.
 5. Gilead, Zelophehad, Jephthah. Numb. XXVI. 28-33, XXVII. 1, XXXVI. 1, Judges XI. 1.
 6. Achan. Joshua VIII. 17-18.
 7. David. Ruth IV. 18 et seq. I. Ch. II. 9-15, Mat. I. 2-6, Luke III. 32-37.
 8. Ezra. Ezra VII. 1-5.
 9. Heman, Asaph, Ethan, or Jeduthan I. Ch. VI. 33-47.

- B.
1. The 400 years' slavery. Gen. XV. 13 (offset by the four generations in v. 16).
 2. The 430 years in Egypt. Ex. XIII. 40-41 (offset by Paul Gal. III. 16-17).
 3. Story of Joseph. Gen. XXXVII. et seq.
 4. Jephthah's 300 years. Judges XI. 26.
 5. Date of Solomon's temple. I. Kings VI. 1 (Reading "came into" for "came out of" transfers this to column A).

CHAPTER III.

THE EGYPTIAN PROVINCE, PALESTINE.

It will be said here: "The reasonings and conclusions of the preceding chapter are very plausible, but it is too much to ask, on the ground of the genealogies alone, that views which have stood the test of ages, and are universally accepted by Jew and Christian, should be abandoned on a hypothesis now first presented; all the more because, by general consent, the Egyptian records are against it.

This is just and reasonable. The hypothesis does need support, and the questions at issue turn upon the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri. Happily the opinions of Egyptologists—their *ipse dixit*—are no more conclusive and binding than those of Philippon or Robinson. It is free to every man to accept their facts and doubt their conclusions. However obscure the doubter, however alone in his doubts, he has the right to demand a hearing; the verdict in the case does not depend upon his personality, but upon his reasons.

We turn now to Brugsch's *Geschichte* which is sufficiently accurate for the present inquiry, and, having long been published in German, English and French, is the most generally accessible work of its class.

By the general concurrence of the latest authorities, Palestine, when it emerges into history, was occupied by Semites. North of it was the energetic, powerful people known as the Chittim or Hittites; east there was no commonwealth as yet with the will, if with the power, to molest it; south, roved the nomadic Shasu of the Egyptian inscriptions; west, the sea coast was held by Phœnician states, which considered a peaceful trade with their neighbors of more value than any possible gain by hostilities.

The inhabitants of Palestine were the Ruthenu of Egyptian inscriptions, identified by the well-known Bible names, Megiddo, Heshbon, Eglon, Laish, Hazor Nain, Mamre and others that occur in a long list of places taken by an invading Pharaoh. The subjugation of Egypt for some five centuries by the Asiatic Hyksos, naturally awakened a spirit of revenge and the desire of retaliation. After their expulsion, the restoration of order and the consolidation of their power by the Pharaohs, Thutmes I. of the eighteenth dynasty began "the great war of vengeance upon Asia, which for nearly five hundred years was prosecuted by successive Pharaohs with almost unbroken good fortune." Thutmes cooled his wrath in the lands of the Ruthenu and extended his conquest to the land of Mesopotamia. The multitude of prisoners was innumerable, which his majesty carried away."

After the accession of Thutmes III. the Ruthenu revolted but were soon crushed. Fourteen campaigns of this king are enumerated during which his conquests were extended to the island of Cyprus and Cilicia on the coast opposite. Vast multitudes of prisoners were taken to Egypt and employed upon the public works. Among them were new deportations of the Semitic Ruthenu, whom mural paintings represent as makings bricks for a temple of Amon.

Amenhotep II. crushed another revolt, penetrated to Mesopotamia and brought back also immense booty and innumerable slaves. Thenceforth, to the end of the eighteenth dynasty "the kings of the land of the upper Ruthenu paid tribute."

Ramses I. of the nineteenth dynasty, warred with the Chittim, the hostilities ending with a treaty of peace that secured to him his old northern boundary and the peaceable possession of Palestine.

Seti I. had to defend himself against the combined forces of the Chittim, Phoenicians and Shasu who invaded Egypt. He defeated them, overran the Shasu country to the Arabah and Canaan, reduced all Phoenicia, seized Lebanon, reconquered Mesopotamia and returned, like his predecessors, with immense booty and prisoners numberless.

Ramses II. in his second year, crushed another revolt of the Ruthenu; in his fifth, defeated a confederation of which the Chittim were at the head; in his eighth "the Ruthenu tired out his patience" and were punished. He took their fortresses and carried away captive their kings, their elders and the men able to bear arms. It was then that he made the treaty with the Hittite king, translated by Brugsch, and married the king's daughter. Ramses made Zoan his capital and defended it by canals in all directions in the Delta and by the Shur outside.

The new Pharaoh, who knew nothing of Joseph, says Brugsch, "is no other, can be no other than Ramses II. Ramses II. is the Pharaoh of the oppression, the father of that unnamed princess, who found the child Moses exposed among the rushes on the banks of the stream" (p. 549); and again: "If Ramses-Sesostris, the builder of the temple city of the same name in the territory of Zoan, must be regarded beyond all doubt as the Pharaoh under whom the Jewish legislator, Moses, first saw the light so the chronological relations—bearing in mind the great age of the two contemporaries—demand that Mineptah II. should, in all probability, be acknowledged as the Pharaoh of the exodus" (581, 2).

These opinions of Brugsch are now generally adopted as established facts, both by biblical scholars and Egyptologists. Turn to the religious press and the illustrated magazines of late years, and to such books as Dr. C. S.

Robinson's "Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus" and mark how the imagination runs riot in expatiating upon Ramses II. as father of the Pharaoh's daughter, who adopted the Hebrew infant, and upon Mineptah, God's purpose with whom is so fully comprehended by Dr. Robinson, and so clearly explained in his VI. Lecture. Yet, if the Egyptian and Hebrew records be really history, both these propositions of Brugsch are here explicitly and emphatically denied in toto.

Note the situation under Mineptah.

The alliance with the Chittim made by his father, Ramses II., continued, to whom in a famine he permitted the export of grain; his relations with the nomad Shasu were friendly; the forts and walls constructed by Thutmes III. and Ramses II. in Palestine held that province in subjection still; couriers carried the royal commands to those fortresses and brought back reports; the Sinaitic peninsula and the east coast of the Red Sea were seats of mining industry defended by forts, supplied and guarded by fleets; other fleets on the Mediterranean were equal to the task of holding the Phoenician coast, Cyprus and Cilicia; at home, the king's authority was everywhere upheld by armies that had conquered peace with the restless peoples on the western and southern frontier. Brugsch devotes a paragraph to the notable development of Egyptian literature at this time and considers it a matter of course, that it should contain no hint of so degrading a calamity as the drowning of Mineptah in the Red Sea. A better reason for this omission is, that no such event happened.

And we are to believe that just in this period of peace, with Egypt at the height of her greatness and power, Moses is bearding Mineptah in his palace at Zoan and inciting two

or three millions of abject slaves to revolt and undertake the conquest of Palestine!

Egyptologists differ much in the translation of a passage in the Harris papyrus that records a period of anarchy after Mineptah's decease. The fact is not doubted, but that it in any way identifies that monarch with the Pharaoh of the exodus is denied; for, during the "forty years" wanderings, all traces of Egyptian rule in Palestine could not have been lost, nor could that land in so short a time have become the possession of so many petty independent kings as Joshua found there, some of them already too strong to be driven out. The Harris papyrus, however, leaves no doubt on the matter. In the sixty-seventh year after the death of Mineptah, by Brugsch's reckoning, Ramses III. succeeded Setnacht—the Ramses "whose glorious deeds remind us of Ramses-Sesostris." One of the deeds was the crushing of the Shasu and Edom, which he commemorated by a Ramesseum built in the hill-town, Kan'aan in the Wady Arabah, to the south of the Dead Sea, in the holy of holies of which was a statue of Amon (?) "On the Ruthen peoples the obligation was imposed to supply this sanctuary with all necessaries." If Mineptah was the Pharaoh of the exodus, this Ramesseum was building just when Judah, Simeon and Benjamin were settling themselves in their allotted territories, with their southeast corner just where Brugsch places this temple. It will hardly be contended that these tribes were the Ruthenu, who supplied it with all things needful!

On what grounds Egyptologists so generally agree upon Ramses II. and Mineptah II. as the Pharaohs of the oppression and the exodus, the writer has never been able to learn; whatever they are, he submits the above as their complete refutation, and believes it to be in full accord with the Hebrew record.

Before proceeding with Mineptah and his successors, the new Hebrew chronology arising from the genealogies must be compared with the Egyptian; taking Brugsch's tables as sufficiently correct, for the purpose.

The year-books of their kings afforded the Jewish historians correct chronological data back to the time of Samuel; beyond, it is manifest that nothing was certain, for there was no era from which to reckon nor any line of birth or death dates to supply the deficiency. They, therefore, took the round number of forty lunar years as an average generation and made it, as we do the century, the unit of historic time, which in long periods is reasonably correct. This is the simple reason why we read so often of marriages at the age of forty, the expression meaning nothing more than that Isaac, Esau and others took wives when of marriageable age. A chronology thus wrought out is elastic and can be adapted to a parallel chronology that is determined and fixed. Thus a history of New England, with no other basis for its dates than the generations of the Bigelow, Bradford, Endicott, Thayer, Winthrop, Winslow families, could have its chronology very correctly determined by the annals of the English kings. Precisely so, given 1, a point in common from which to compute, and 2, an authentic chronology of the Pharaohs, a satisfactory Hebrew chronology could be easily wrought out; but this second premise is lacking. One sees at a glance in Brugsch's tables of the dynasties a suspicious monotony of numerals, the same numbers recurring regularly in triads from Mena to Shishak, some 3000 years. There are but three exceptions one of which only concerns us, viz: that, where he covers but two generations with nine ephemeral and nominal Pharaohs, the immediate successors of Ramses III. In fact, his chronology is obtained by the simple rule of three generations to the century. He can-

didly states that in his tables none of his dates are fixed down to three centuries after Shishak. Before that date, therefore, his chronology is also elastic, and may adapt itself to another without violence.

Now, five years after Solomon's death, an event occurred which yields the first definite, trustworthy date common to both chronologies, viz: the invasion of Judea by Shishak in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign.¹ Mark this: the generations Hezron-Solomon, ten in number, cover the entire period from the advent in Egypt, which by the ancient Jewish reckoning of two and a half generations to the century was $(10 \div 2\frac{1}{2} = 4)$ four hundred years, but the modern reckoning of three to the century, $333\frac{1}{3}$ years. In Brugsch's tables Mineptah II. begins his reign B. C. 1300, Shishak his, 966. The interval is $(1300 - 966 = 334)$ three hundred and thirty-four years. We have then,

Hezron to the accession of Rehoboam,	$333\frac{1}{3}$ years
Mineptah Shishak,	334 "

Is this merely a remarkable coincidence or do the two elastic chronologies mutually prove each other? But Hezron came into Egypt with Jacob, and the Hebrew migration, then, by this showing was in the reign of Mineptah II. True, we lose the old romance of Joseph, but this in no way reduces the probability, that a son of a great and wealthy nomadic sheik of the Egyptian province Palestine became attached to the court in Zoan, and was at length raised by Mineptah to the post of grand vizier. Notwithstanding certain successes of his armies, Mineptah is depicted by Brugsch and others as an indolent, unenterprising monarch, to whom an adroit, energetic minister of alien blood, and, therefore, not an object of jealousy, would be no small boon. Such we are

¹ I. Kings xiv. 25.

told was Joseph, who by the genealogies and the chronologies, as above, could only have been that Pharaoh's minister, though perhaps continued in office by his son. In some notices of important personages in this reign Brugsch says: "Let us not forget the influential high priest of Amon, Roi, Loi, Lui (*i. e.* Levi.) who under Mineptah commanded the Amon legion, controlled the Amon treasury and, according to the custom of the time, was chief architect of the Pharaoh."

More interesting and suggestive is an act of grace, the only one of the kind so far as appears, which is the subject of an official's report at this time. "Something else for the satisfaction of my lord's heart. We have allowed the Shasu families from the land Aduma to pass through the Chetam Mineptah-Hotephima, which is situate in Thuku, towards the lakes of the city Pitum of Mineptah-Hotephima, which lie in the land Thuku, in order to nourish them and to nourish their herds on the demesnes of Pharaoh, who is a beneficent sun for all peoples. In the year 8.... Seti I. had them conducted thither, according to the list of the.... for the.... of the other names of the days on which the Chetam Mineptah-Hotephima is opened for passing through." This accords with facts derived from Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek sources, namely, that Seti I. seized the country west of the Jam Suph; that Ramses II. set apart therein a royal demesne—the lands of Rameses—devoted to cattle breeding; that Mineptah strengthened an old or erected a new stronghold to defend the Shur passage; and the first clause implies that this was the only entrance by land. Had Brugsch known Graetz's article on the Jam Suph he could hardly have written "to the lakes" but "to the sea" of the city of Pitum.

This case seems parallel to so many in the English Bible

where the translators give us what they think the Hebrew must mean, not what it does mean. Another question: Whether the Egyptian district Thuku be the Hebrew place Succoth, is passed by for the present.

The mutilated last clause of the report clearly implies that certain days were fixed for the passage of caravans through the fortress, but in this case an exception was made by the king's command. This special license, Mineptah's gratification, and the absence of any hint of a similar permit are perfectly intelligible on the hypothesis that the recipients of the favor were the father and brothers of the prime minister. At all events, if any one is disposed to understand this report as supporting the Hebrew record of Jacob's advent in Egypt, there is no objection to his doing so, only he must date the event in the reign of Mineptah, at the time when that Pharaoh was permitting the export of corn to the famine stricken Chittim.

The immediate successors of Mineptah were Seti II. "for whom, when crown prince, a temple scribe composed that remarkable story, 'The Two Brothers,' so similar to that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife"—Siptah (?) and Setnacht. From the Harris papyrus it is known that in their period were great political troubles, so great, indeed, that a certain Arisu, a Phoenician, a Kharu or a Syrian—the translators disagree—for a time usurped the throne at Zoan. By the genealogical chronology Joseph was still alive; was Arisu, that new king who knew him not, who did not hold valid his decrees, who took no knowledge of him and walked not in his laws? No reason appears why Arisu should molest the Hebrew families in their possessions outside the Delta. For his own interest he would not disturb navigation on the canal and the Red Sea nor interfere with the pursuits of

quiet Semitic strangers whose business added indirectly to his revenues.

With them Joseph and his family would find a refuge.

Dr. A. H. Kellogg has recently argued ¹ that the exodus took place soon after the decease of Mineptah, and that it was the departure of so great a multitude, "Surely large enough to leave the northeast part of the Delta comparatively empty," that so weakened Egypt as to expose it to Arisu's successful invasion. But he forgets that among Mineptah's foreign provinces was Palestine, held by fortresses and garrisons, and does not consider that the notion of inciting abject slaves to revolt and undertake such a conquest could not have entered the mind of the craziest Hebrew.

Setnacht expelled Arisu, regained the sovereignty over all Egypt and left it in its full power to his successor.

Ramses III. began another "war of vengeance" and reconquered all the old Asiatic dependencies of the Pharaohs from the lands of the Shasu and Edom to Cyprus and Cilicia. Among his prisoners were "the wretched king of the Chittim and the miserable king of the Amori." Did Canaan escape? From aught that appears in Joshua and Judges, it did. Whether the exodus was under Mineptah or Seti, if under either, the Hebrews were already in the promised land, or in the very path of Ramses on their way thither, and his victorious campaigns passed them by. Perhaps this Pharaoh was long suffering and slow to anger; perhaps he had been taught to fear the God of Israel; was not covetous of the land flowing with milk and honey; was magnanimous and forgave the slaves, who left the northeastern part of the Delta comparatively empty and an easy prey to the in-

¹ Lecture V. Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt. New York, 1887.

vader; perhaps—but why enumerate the absurdities involved in either date of the exodus? An inscription in the Ramesseum of Medinet Abu settles the question. In a list of Ramses' offerings to Amon is to be read: "Let the productions of the Ruthen land be brought thither as gifts to thee." Palestine was again an Egyptian province; the taxes of upper Ruthen came to the Ramesseum near Thebes, those of lower Ruthen to that at Canaan.

Thus the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, if trustworthy, prove that, from the conquest of Palestine by Thutmes I. to this point in the reign of Ramses III., between four and five hundred years, that land had remained an Egyptian province, a few short intervals excepted; and that every effort to throw off the yoke had been crushed and punished by deportations of its Semitic inhabitants to perish under the horrors of slavery. Of this there is not a hint in the Hebrew historic books. Why? Because Hebrew national history thus far did not exist. There was no moment when it would seem less possible for it to begin than this of Ramses' great victories. Yet, just then and at a blow, all was changed. It was on this wise:

The Cypriots and Cilicians, joined by the savage peoples of Asia Minor, in vast numbers, moved south by sea and land, bent in their turn upon a war of vengeance with hated Egypt. They swept the countries traversed with Isaiah's besom of destruction. The power of the Chittim, already broken by Ramses, was for the present annihilated. Palestine was made desolate; Phœnicia and Philistia were overwhelmed; nothing withstood their numbers and savage energy down to the very border of Egypt. Here fortune deserted them. The inscriptions translated by Brugsch show that Ramses met the danger with great prudence and sagacity. As the enemy advanced he withdrew his garrisons

and concentrated them with the other forces of his realms, military and naval, near Pelusium. Ample supplies, therefore, were at hand, and, should he be forced to retreat, the Shur and the Jam Suph afforded him a strong line of defence. The invaders, on reaching this point, would be weakened by the inevitable losses of so long a march, by war and disease, would have a waterless desert in the rear and, on the left flank, be soon compelled to rely upon their fleet for the common necessities of life, and these to be drawn from lands already devastated; and under such circumstances would have to meet a huge army, fresh and unwearied, which had of late years not known defeat and was now to fight in defence of its own Egypt under the eye of its sovereign. The result justified Ramses' policy. His victory both on land and sea was complete. The invaders were destroyed and their incalculable booty, the plunder of all the rich lands they had traversed, fell into the king's hands.

Could he have followed up his victory immediately by marching to recover his Asiatic provinces there would have been no Hebrew history to record, but he had been compelled to leave his western and southern borders inadequately defended, and campaigns in those quarters occupied him during the next years.

That he intended another Syrian war cannot be doubted; but a domestic conspiracy, detailed by Brugsch, held him in Egypt. This, the extension of mining operations in the Sinaitic peninsula and on the east coast of the Red Sea, the building of fleets to defend them and to extend commerce even to the Indies, and the execution of the vast architectural schemes, which, never finished, have left their ruins to attest his greatness—these occupy the annals of his last years.

A fact of very great importance in its bearing upon the exodus is the transfer of the seat of government from Zoan

to Thebes by Ramses III. This, it is believed, is not disputed. Brugsch remarks, "The cities south of Thebes, just as the entire Delta land, were utterly ignored as sites for temple structures, so that a strong probability arises that special circumstances justified a neglect so remarkable. Above all it may be considered certain that Ramses III. in no manner did anything, not the slightest, for the former Ramses city, Zoan-Tanis. His capital was Thebes; the Pharaonic court was transferred from Zoan-Tanis to the Amon city." Mariette confirms this and so does Mr. Petrie in his reports upon Tanis and Nebesheh. The only evidences of the existence of a Ramses III., found in the excavations there, are one statue in granite, one in sandstone and a few cartouches and tiles. These, we suppose, belong to the first years of his reign, "After Ramses III. there is a complete blank until the 26th dynasty."¹

Thus, from the genealogies of the Pharaohs and those of the Hebrew princes and heads of houses, a chronology is obtained by which Joseph was the minister of Mineptah II., and, having been born in Padan-aram, was, at the lowest computation, seventy years of age when joined by his father and brethren. By the historic sketch of Palestine it is demonstrated that the exodus could not have occurred until after the time of Ramses III., and confirmation of this is found in the silence of the Hebrew record upon Canaan as an Egyptian outlying province, and in its positive statement as to the fourth generation. The jubilant exultation at the discovery of mummies, supposed to be Pharaohs of the oppression and exodus, was premature. Every man has the right, whatever may be the wisdom of exercising it, to reject all the Egyptian and accept all the Hebrew records literally;

¹ Nebesheh, p. 31.

but no professed public instructor is justified in picking and choosing; in treating his auditors or readers with stories of Ramses II. and Mineptah II. because they point his moral and adorn his tale, and ignore that of Ramses III. because hostile to it. They stand or fall together; all three are true as found in the inscriptions and papyri, or neither of them is; but, as there found, there is not the remotest hint to support the notion that Ramses II. was Pharaoh of the oppression, as that term is understood. It is a mere assumption, has never been and never can be proved so long as the history of Ramses III. stands in the way.

It is submitted, therefore, that the annals of the Pharaohs for full five hundred years support and confirm the authenticity of the Hebrew genealogies and the natural and necessary inferences from them; that, taken together, they render it impossible to construct on the old lines a consistent and rational account of the beginnings of Hebrew history; and that a new story of the exodus must replace the old for all readers, except such as may utterly reject the inscriptions and papyri and are not able to discover inconsistencies and contradictions in the Pentateuch.

CHAPTER IV.

GOSHEN AND ITS POPULATION.

Jacob "sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen, and they came into the land of Goshen."

"And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel, his father, to Goshen.

"And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying: Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee;

"The land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell; and if thou knowest *any* men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.

"And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded."

By the map in Mr. Naville's "Store-city Pithom," the air line distance of that place from Zagazig is thirty-seven miles. By the one in his "Goshen" the district so named is oval in form, its greatest diameter east and west sixteen miles, north and south a little less; on the northwest it touches Zagazig; east it approaches Tel-el-Kabir and its distance from Pithom is twenty miles. This distance is too great to render the first recorded marches after the passover possible, and Goshen, therefore, must have been, or extended, some miles farther east.

Mr. Naville closes some remarks upon the ancient Egyptian names with, "We may, therefore, conclude that, at the time when the Israelites settled in Egypt under the last Hyksos kings, the land of Goshen was an uncultivated district, not divided among Egyptian inhabitants regularly settled and governed, but probably a kind of waste land sufficiently watered to produce good pasturage. Thus it was a district which might be assigned to foreigners without despoiling the inhabitants of the country."¹

His reasoning is good and the inference warranted if the premise be established that the advent of the Hebrews

¹ Goshen, p. 18.

was under the Hyksos kings, that is, three generations before the conquest of Palestine by Thutmes III. and twelve before the accession of Mineptah II. But by the genealogic chronology the premise is an error and the conclusion, therefore, a mistake.

"I fully agree," says Mr. Naville, "with the great majority of Biblical scholars on the equivalence of the name of Goshen and Rameses, with this slight difference, I consider Rameses as covering a larger area than Goshen."¹ The new chronology agrees with Mr. Naville in this slight difference; but, changing the date from the Hyksos to Mineptah II., changes all the conditions. The land of Rameses becomes a district near the Necho canal, set apart as a royal demesne devoted to cattle breeding, lying beyond the reach of the Nile inundations and convenient to the Pithom market. A small area at its eastern extremity would suffice for the patriarchs, and this position would suit the "men of activity" in charge of Pharaoh's cattle. Mr. Naville also believes Mineptah "to be the king of the exodus,"² and his Goshen, of course, assumes proportions to meet the demands of the supposed increase of the Hebrews from the time of the Hyksos.

Passing from this deservedly renowned explorer and Egyptologist, let us look into the views of some eminent representative man of the theologians. As a most competent and very recent authority, one who writes with complete knowledge of the late discoveries in Egypt, one who knows the land from personal observation, and one whose orthodoxy cannot be questioned, Dr. C. S. Robinson is selected. His "Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus" presents the immemorial orthodox views modified to their advantage

¹ Goshen, p. 17.

² *Ib.*, p. 26.

by taking Zoan-Tanis as the capital and reducing the long accepted three millions of fugitive Israelites to two millions.

"It," he is speaking of Goshen, "was a region quite extensive, lying along the famous river of Egypt on the east side of what is now called the Delta. Information is coming in slowly but surely; and it will not be long, at the farthest, before the facts will be established. We know that Rameses was in it, and Pithom and On; and On is just Heliopolis and that is where the (New York) obelisk once stood.... The site of Heliopolis is about five miles from modern Cairo, on the eastern side towards the desert (p. 109). Mineptah is reckoned to have been his (Ramses II.) immediate successor, his thirteenth son, and, so far as we know, the only man after him in the dynasty worth noting.... The main significance of this man centers in a majestic fact: he was raised up by God for the career he ran on earth. He took his fame from his tyranny, his conspicuousness from his guilt. His importance in history arises from his desperate conflict with God (p. 78). Under him the trouble deepened. Then the distressed and unreasonable slaves visited the whole increase upon Moses and Aaron (p. 76). In the mural paintings always, always the same sad grouping is offered: Gangs of laborers, abject and suffering under intolerable burdens, are seen with taskmasters standing above it" (p. 84). The reader must bear in mind that this Mineptah is Dr. Robinson's Pharaoh of the exodus, after which event "two things are noticeable; there are in the history now no military operations for full forty years; and during all that time, so far as we know, there are no buildings erected. The army of Egypt was destroyed utterly with one grand overwhelming, and the slaves who did the building went out, two millions at once, in the midnight (p. 86). The Pharaoh, like the others, was but a noise" (p. 89).

All this, which relates to Mineptah, has already been effectually disposed of, provided the genealogies are not false; but our topic now is Goshen and its population and the two millions of Dr. Robinson's frightened host of slaves.

Whether the position of Goshen, as given by Mr. Naville, be precisely correct or not, does not matter here; it is enough that he has collected the learning on the subject and demonstrated that it was north and east of Heliopolis, and between the Shur and canal, as it must have been by all the references to it and the events related in Genesis and Exodus as having occurred in it.

The children of Israel were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly and the land was filled with them. What land? Goshen; as is established by the record, if any fact is, "The land of Goshen where my people dwell," "only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail," and parallel passages.

It was, then, for the slaves in Goshen, that a Pharaoh "planned the ingenious and malicious kind of murder by which the strength and life of these people were worn out with terrible affliction in the brickyards" (Dr. R., p. 99). Let us try to obtain some adequate conception of what two millions of slaves in Goshen implies, which can best be effected by taking a few statistics from the United States census of 1880, of three of the old free States and three of the old slave States:

	Population.	Families.	Persons to the family.
Massachusetts.....	1,783,085	379,710	4.07
New York.....	5,082,871	1,078,405	4.71
Ohio.....	3,198,062	641,907	4.98
Virginia.....	1,512,565	282,355	5.36
Kentucky.....	1,648,690	302,631	5.45
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	215,055	5.26

The average is $5\frac{3}{10}$ persons to the family. The families of laborers, who live in some degree of comfort, are proverbially large; not so of such as are wasted and worn under the slave driver's lash, or the northern slave States before the civil war, could not have driven so profitable a business in raising slaves for the markets of the Gulf States. The exceeding multiplication of the Goshen slaves casts a doubt upon their condition being so shocking as is supposed, whatever may have been the case elsewhere.

We might justly assume the men, women and children of the two millions to have been in normal proportions, and five to the family a fair computation.

But since in Egyptian slavery there may have been large numbers, who neither had nor belonged to families, we will, to avoid danger of overstatement, reduce the 400,000 ($2,000,000 \div 5 = 400,000$) to 350,000 families. For a later purpose, let us compute in like manner the number of houses occupied. The following table is also drawn directly from the same census report, except that the number of families and houses in the last line—that is, of towns not named, but within fifteen miles of Boston—is obtained by estimating five persons to the family and seven to the house.

	Population.	Families.	Houses.	Average Persons to the House.
Boston.....	362,839	72,763	43,944	8.26
Cambridge.....	52,669	10,833	8,260	6.38
Chelsea.....	21,782	4,834	3,725	5.85
Other Towns.....	204,000	40,800	29,143	7.—
	<u>641,290</u>	<u>129,230</u>	<u>85,072</u>	

Judging from this table, it is rather an under than an over-estimate, that the 350,000 families of the children of Israel in Goshen occupied 250,000 houses with an average of eight persons to the house. To this, it is objected: It is absurd

to assume that these miserable people were allowed to dwell by families in their own houses; on the contrary they must have been crowded into huge barracks and driven like cattle in masses to and from their labors. Perhaps so; we are not strenuous on the point; the absurdity is not of our creating; but then, how does the objector dispose of the passover injunctions to take a lamb or kid for every house, with its blood, to distinguish the Irsaelite from the Egyptian houses, and no man to go out of his house that night? Two millions of people are a large number, very nearly 217,000 more than the whole population of Masschusetts in 1880. Now, upon a map of that state draw a circle, with its centre at Boston and a radius of fifteen miles so as to cover the towns of the last table. Its eastern quadrant is water. On the map of Egypt by the scale of miles it is less than fifty from Ismailia to Zagazig; where upon that map, between the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile and the hills south, could any possible Goshen have had an area equal to the three-quarters of the circle drawn around Boston?

The population of this section of Massachusetts was considered dense even before 1880; but, to render its density equal to that of Goshen, with two millions, all the inhabitants of the State, and 217,000 besides, must come into it, and more. For the Egyptian houses not spared by the Angel of Death, and all those families from which the Israelites borrowed, representing at least another million of persons, must be added. Hence, to make the population of Boston and its environs to the distance of fifteen miles adequately represent that of the orthodox biblical Goshen, there must be collected in that space all the inhabitants of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts (in 1880), and yet room be found for the herds and flocks of these slaves, for all manner of service in the field and for the famous brickyards.

The objector replies: The above is neither just nor candid; for Dr. Robinson does not accept Mr. Naville's Goshen; on the contrary, he includes in it the store-city Pithom on the east, and Heliopolis on the southwest, which, by the shortest practicable road are full sixty miles apart. Very well; he shall speak for himself in the lecture on Naville's "Discovery of Pithom," and we shall see if the orthodox position be improved. "Why is so much applause given to this explorer for an almost accidental discovery of a little town like Pithom? Because the main attack in these times has been upon the integrity of the books of Moses; and the special point menaced is the account of the exodus; and the trouble about the departure of the Israelites has been mainly centered in the want of knowledge concerning the route they took when they went out of Egypt; and the reason why this was always a vexation was a forced hard fact, that scholars did not know the spot they started from in that terrible midnight. The record reads: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men beside children.' But now where was Rameses? Where was Succoth? Just here comes the information that Pithom is found, and that was the mate of Rameses and Rameses must be close by somewhere; and, moreover, we learn from the monuments that Succoth was the civil name of Pithom, as Pi Tum was its priestly or religious name. Thus, we have the actual point of the start; those two millions of people (the marching men, as here numbered, with the proper porportion of women, children and servants¹) came up from all over Goshen; some from Zoan, some from Rameses close by, some from Pithom town itself, all gathering at Succoth, from which they pushed forward in the night long to be remembered,

¹ Of slaves?

towards a wilderness journey through the Red Sea and the Jordan into Canaan. Thus everything illustrates God's word, and nothing is permitted to darken it; only God must be suffered to choose his own time" (p. 103-4).

This must be suffered, certainly; but we may devoutly express the hope that God will soon choose his own time to answer the commentators out of the whirlwind and say: "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by word without knowledge?"

And now, reader, let us carefully re-peruse chapters XI. and XII. of Exodus, and, taking the passages cited from Dr. Robinson to guide us, imagine ourselves heads of slave families at Heliopolis (included by him and by the old maps in Goshen) living through the fourteenth Nisan¹ and the "night long to be remembered." Early in that month, in common with the 350,000 families of the children of Israel, we have been instructed to provide on the tenth, a lamb or kid. As the animal was to "be without blemish, a male of the first year," we are not a little anxious lest the sudden demand for 350,000 create a stringency in the market, and our earnings as slaves may not suffice for the purchase. We are somewhat relieved by the proviso in Ex. XII. 4, that two small households may take one lamb for both and divide the cost. We compute such cases to be two out of seven and find that only 250,000 are needed. Still, this seems to be a large number for a land where every shepherd is an abomination to its native inhabitants. However, after the day's labor on the tenth we go to the market, find it supplied and buy. Early on the morning of the 14th, for the sun rises at six o'clock, we are of the hundreds of thousands of men, women and older children, who are called from their beds of straw, and led or driven to the brickyards

¹ In 1882, April 2; 1885, March 30; 1889, April 15; 1890, April 4.

and all manner of service in the field. There we toil all the day under the lash of the task-masters, of whom "the record says, they (the Pharaohs) did set over them these infamous creatures for the purpose of afflicting them with their burdens." The longest days end, and at eventide we wend our way, weary, worn, distressed to our dwellings. Without a moment for rest we slaughter our lamb, sprinkle its blood upon the lintels and door posts, roast it whole, "its head with its legs and the inwards thereof;" if not already provided, we must bake our unleavened bread and prepare bitter herbs to eat with it; before going to table we have to dress, even to fastening on our sandals and girding our flowing oriental dress to our loins, and make ready our children for a journey. How long it requires to roast a yearling lamb or kid whole, a cook must say. At all events it must be midnight before we have eaten and burnt the residue. At this moment a great and awful cry of distress is heard. We have been strictly enjoined not to go out of our doors, but we understand the shrieks of our neighbors even before they rush into our houses and urge us to depart, to hasten away. We keep up the fiction of a three days' journey to a religious festival and ask them to lend us personal ornaments and festive garments, which they can well spare during their weeks of mourning for their first born. Of course, under the circumstances we find favor in the sight of the Egyptians, and they lend. (Precisely how we spoil them does not appear for we leave them our houses and all our little possessions which we cannot carry with us.) Some of us have aged parents, invalid relatives, small children; many of our wives have babes unborn or at the breast. It is now about one in the morning. We make packs of our clothes, our kneading troughs, and whatever we can carry, take them upon our backs, leave our neighbors to their wailings and

lamentations, move off on foot—men, women and children, tottering age and toddling infancy—for the place of rendezvous sixty miles away, reach it, join the two millions from Zoan and all over Goshen, and thence push forward in the night from Rameses to Succoth. But what are sixty miles in an age of miracles?

Is there any, if any, what objection to this as a fair and honest summary of these two chapters, of what is stated and implied in them, according to the views of the great school which Dr. Robinson represents?

No, it will not do. Turn as we will, we are continually driven back to the genealogies as the key to this history. What then is to be inferred from them, as to Goshen, its extent and population?

Through the ignoring of the Hebrew princes and heads of tribes in the book of Exodus, the outlines of a volume of lost history must be supplied by conjecture controlled by reason and common sense.

In the reign of Mineptah II., by the new chronology, Joseph, then at least seventy years of age, called his father and brothers into Egypt. They were free and independent except as to the allegiance owed to the Pharaohs by the people of their province, Palestine. Their religion, customs and vocation prevented them from settling in Egypt proper, and "possessions" were allotted them in the demesne of Ramses in the district Goshen. It could not be more than twenty-five to thirty miles from the capital Zoan, and intercourse between Joseph and his father and brethren was easy. From consideration of dates given and distances traversed in Ex. XII. 37, XIII. 20, and Numb. XXXIII. 5, 6, it was, as before stated, in the easterly part of the demesne, and some miles farther east on Mr. Naville's map. In extent undefined, it was adequate to the necessities of the new comers, who were

doubtless allowed to extend its borders to meet demands for more space, which, as will be seen, were never very great. The Hebrews had not come thither to settle permanently, and their "possessions," to use the modern phrase, were not in fee. As they were free at any moment to abandon them for their former home, so the Pharaohs were equally free to command them to do so. But their sojourn in Goshen was for the advantage of both parties. They were in the focus of eastern trade and commerce, where the demand for fresh and dried meats to supply vessels, caravans and the mines was very great, and which they met from their own resources and those of the royal demesne which the Pharaoh had given them in charge. There is not a particle of evidence that the amicable relations between Mineptah II. and the Hebrews were impaired under his successors to and including Ramses III., and just these relations, so profitable to both parties, were the cause that the house of Jacob extended its sojourn in Goshen until after the decease of Joseph and all his generations. This statement is, of course, only made, provided the genealogies be true; for candor compels the admission, that it renders the exposure of the child Moses, his discovery and adoption by a Pharaoh's daughter, impossible events.¹

By Brugsch's tables, the interval between the accessions of Mineptah II. and Ramses III. was one hundred years, that is, three generations. In the Harris papyrus Ramses is made to say, "He (Setnacht) raised me to the position of crown prince and grand vizier of the Egyptian territory." He had, therefore, then reached the years of manhood. The B. compilers have preserved notes of the ages attained by a few of Jacob's immediate descendants, Joseph 110, Levi 137, his son Kohath 133, and grandson Amram 137. They all

¹ See Note vii.

lived, by these data, until after the birth of Ramses, and as Moses was, through his mother, grandson of Levi, also after his birth; in fact, his father, Amram, was still living at or very near the exodus.

The supposed 400 years of Hebrew slavery, the assumed two millions of fugitive Hebrews, and the conjectural large area of Goshen cannot be used as arguments against the above; for, as we have seen when tested, they lead to results and corollaries repugnant to common sense. These last paragraphs have been in part anticipated and might have found place in previous chapters, but it seemed better to give them here in immediate connection with a new estimate of the numbers of the Hebrews and their dependents in Goshen, to which we now proceed.

A quadruple increase of male children from generation to generation is decidedly greater than the Bible genealogies or modern statistics warrant. In the genealogies, Zelophead and Sheshan recur to mind "who had no son, but daughters;" others are named, who died childless, as Seled, Jether and the three elder sons of Judah. We will, however, assume this rate, deducting after the second generation twenty per centum for deaths, and omitting the small fractions. Thus computed, the male descendants of Jacob, the true Hebrews, numbered in the generation

			Males
Mineptah	Levi	Joseph	12
Seti	Kohath	Ephraim	48
Setnacht	Amram	Beriah	154
Ramses III.	Aaron	Elishama	493
Ramses IV.	Eleazar	Nun	1,578

Any estimate of the number of servants and dependents of the patriarchs and their increase must be vague. The data are little better than purely conjectural, and circum-

stances affected these people which hardly touched their masters. Large herds and flocks required a large number of hands for their care, and, when the force had to be increased, young able-bodied men, not encumbered with wives and children, would naturally be chosen. Hence, the proportion of men to women and children would be greater than the norm computed from town populations with varied industry. The change from the climate of mountainous Judea to that of the African isthmus, of diet, and of the waters of mountain springs and cool wells for those of the canals, must have augmented the mortality of the women and children of the laboring class until acclimated. For some time, therefore, their aggregate decreased, while the proportion of men to women increased, and thus the number of families and births was in the future largely reduced. The histories of pioneer settlements in the United States supply many cases sufficiently similar to be pointed at as examples.

In Goshen, when once the turning point was reached, the increase would proceed in even larger ratio, but not such that in four generations these people would become those children of Israel who multiplied exceedingly.

Though in accordance with patriarchal custom Jacob remained, through his life, the nominal owner of the family property and could give two "portions" to Joseph for Ephraim and Manasseh, his sons, were all now men advanced in years, the youngest a grandfather, and there must have been some kind of a division of it among them. Each, no doubt, had his own cattle range and his own servants and dependents. If the notices of their great wealth be trustworthy, and why not? the number of herdsmen, shepherds and servants of various functions cannot be estimated at less than forty to fifty each, an aggregate, say, of five hundred men.

According to the story of Joseph, wagons were sent to convey Jacob, the women and children, into Egypt, and his sons accompanied him. This is reasonable, as is also the notice of the supplies for the journey. It is also reasonable to suppose that supplies of food for man and beast were afterwards forwarded into the desert of Shur; for the animals, of which so large a portion of the wealth of the Hebrews consisted, could not have kept pace with the wagons. They had to be collected from their grazing lands and driven by short stages. The distance from Hebron to Goshen was, as measured on the map, about two hundred miles. From Hebron to the desert of Shur the route afforded pasturage and water. Five hundred men were probably not a larger force than was needed for protection against marauders, and the estimate, bear in mind, is of all man-servants, herdsmen or not.

Another point: the sons of Israel carried Jacob, their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry them. This excludes the preposterous notion that the women and children of their subordinates were thus conveyed. The superannuated, the feeble, and the little children, journeyed upon asses and tame bullocks, the others trudged along with their husbands and fathers. The route being through a province of Egypt, they were under its protection, but in crossing the desert there seems to have been at all times danger from roving Shasu.

In a citation from Bunsen, whose work is not accessible, and his reasons are, therefore, unknown to the writer, the number of dependents, who came with the patriarchs into Egypt, is put at "one or two thousand" of old and young of both sexes; but, as he accepts Mineptah II. as the Pharaoh of the exodus, and "maintains the duration of the sojourn in Egypt to have been 434 years," his estimate probably de-

depends upon calculations of no force in our inquiry. Yet his lower number accords curiously with our result, viz: So large a number of the 500 adult males were unmarried as to reduce the aggregate of the women and children to not more than five or six hundred. For the reasons before set forth, an average doubling of the number of adult males from generation to generation is held to be a generous estimate, and the conclusion is, that the 500 under Mineptah II. became, under Seti, 1,000, Setnacht 2,000, Ramses III. 4,000, Ramses IV. 8,000.

Census statistics never confirm previous calculations founded upon the supposed natural laws of births and deaths; but, conceding the 1,578 males, old and young, of the last table, to represent an aggregate of 5,000 descendants of Jacob, and the 8,000 male adults of his dependents to represent 25,000, there is a population belonging to Goshen, in the time of Ramses IV., of 30,000 to be provided for, of whom 10,000 may be considered as "men from twenty years old and upward able to go forth to war."

In the censuses taken after the exodus the two new tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, are not much under the tribal average in the number of able-bodied men; but, by Gen. XLVIII., 5, 22, Joseph's sons received portions of the common stock of property and servants and, therefore, did not add to the numbers.

When the patriarchs came into Egypt, in the reign of Mineptah II., the time had long passed, as it is now passing in the trans-Mississippi regions, when herdsmen could wander at will over the "public lands" south of the Shur, and greater numbers be employed on larger herds and flocks. The "possession" in Goshen could not be extended indefinitely, and not many years would pass before the limit would be reached and the number of animals and keepers thence-

forth remain practically the same, the superfluous production being sold in Pithom and other markets. The problem is, to dispose of a population of 30,000 belonging to Goshen, the bulk of which, though probably bondmen in some mild form to the patriarchs, was in no sense subjected to Egyptian slavery.

Whether or not Jacob, on settling at Hebron after the death of his father, remained "a dweller in tents," which is extremely doubtful, it is manifest that his descendants could not have remained so in Goshen for four generations. They must have erected habitations—to use a scriptural phrase, they builded a city. The city must have mechanics and artisans, and young men not needed in the field would be sent to Egyptian towns to learn the handicrafts practiced there.

Returning, they would establish a varied industry, and their successors would acquire a skill and experience which was to be of the greatest value. Goshen could thus support a population not possible on any other hypothesis, and become the school in which the infant nation learned its lessons, from the high priest and the lawgiver to the humblest workman in wood or metal. The thought suggests itself that this was the place which the B. compilers coupled with Pithom as a store city.

Still, 30,000, of whom an abnormally large proportion were men, is too great a number to be thus disposed of; but here hints found in Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles come to our relief.

The amusing account of Moses as a military commander in Ethiopian wars, given by Josephus,¹ shows that traditions to that effect existed in his time, known also to Stephen who makes him a man "mighty in deeds" before his flight into

¹ Antiq. B. II., 10.

Midian. The truth seems to be this: By the genealogies, Joseph, Levi and probably others of the patriarchs were still living when Setnacht expelled Arisu from the Delta. They organized a small corps in Goshen as a contingent to Setnacht's army. Of this corps, enlarged as the population of Goshen expanded, Moses in time became leader, and it took part in the great struggle with the northern hordes in the eighth year of Ramses III., and there is no improbability in the statement that it served later in the Ethiopian wars, although the stories of Josephus are too absurd for credence. At all events, three perplexing enigmas thus find solution, viz: How and when Moses acquired the skill and experience for military organization and command afterwards displayed; when and how the nucleus of the later Hebrew army was formed; and how the large surplus of men in Goshen found employment. Egyptologists must decide whether or not the 2,083 Aperiu, mentioned as in the service of Ramses III., and the 1,800 in that of Ramses IV., may have been neither captives nor foreign slaves, but divisions of the Goshen corps.

Is it said: this is all purely hypothetical? Granted; but are we not confessedly only supplying lost history by conjecture? And what but conjecture is the story of this period as told upon the old lines?

No, it is replied, for the old lines are those of the explicit scripture narrative. Granted, and they are followed in direct antagonism to the one single series of notices in the Hebrew historic books, that are uniformly coherent, consistent and stated as indubitable facts—the genealogies. Prove their falsity and thus demolish the hypothesis based upon them, or accept them and replace our conjectures by better. The questions to be answered here as elsewhere are: 1. Are the genealogies historic truth? 2. If so, are our deductions from them reasonable?

CHAPTER V.

THE EXODUS.

I. PRELIMINARY.

The Hebrews never contemplated a permanent settlement in Egypt. They took the body of Jacob to Abraham's sepulchre; Stephen and Josephus affirm that all the patriarchs were entombed there; and, though the notices of Joseph's decease appear to belong to the romance, for, by the record, he died long before Levi, they tend to confirm the fact.

So long as Canaan remained an Egyptian province, there was nothing to prevent their return to it; on the other hand, until Goshen became overpeopled, there was nothing to urge them to that step. They remained an alien people; "abominable" to the Egyptians for their race, religion and occupation; but they were in Egypt and were under the protection of the great minister until his decease. They were independent and, when their quarters in Goshen became straitened, the Pharaohs could not object to their exchanging the possession there for a wider sphere of action in the Ruthen province. There is not a particle of evidence that the amicable relations between them and Mineptah II. had changed down to the time of Ramses III. and Moses. Goshen was not yet overpeopled; but, had it been, the "troubulous times" and loss of Palestine after Seti II., when Arisu held the Delta, until its reconquest by Ramses III., prevented a return thither. Though now again opened to the Hebrews, prudence forbade the return until the country after such commotions was reduced to order and quiet; moreover such a change of domicile could not be undertaken

at a moment's notice by a people numbering some 15,000 to 18,000. This again deferred action in the premises.

In the eighth year of Ramses III. came the great northern irruption, in the repulse of which we have supposed Moses to have taken part. It left Palestine desolate, defenceless and open to occupation by the first invader. But it had also crushed all the neighboring powers that might otherwise have seized it; hence, as time passed, petty peoples and chieftains, enumerated in the book of Joshua, took possession of its ruined towns and established their communities. The Hebrews must again wait until the province was retaken and order restored, for they could not conceive of its abandonment by Ramses. He, however, became occupied by wars on the south and west, then by his vast architectural plans, and finally by the great domestic conspiracy before noted.

Meantime, the inducements to remain in Goshen decreased from year to year. Trade and commerce with the countries bordering the east coast of the Mediterranean could only revive in proportion as those lands recovered from the ravages of the northern hordes. After the return of the Hebrew contingent from the Ethiopian and Lybian wars, and by natural increase, the effects of overpeopling the possession began to be felt, and for this there was no remedy.

A great change in the slave population around Goshen and in the Delta strongly affected the fortunes of the Hebrews.

All the great public works of northeastern Egypt had long since been completed, the Necho canal, the canalization of the Delta, the Shur, the temples and palaces at Zoan, the ports and harbors, the store cities, the fortresses; but large numbers of the bondmen would still be occupied in keeping the canals in condition, at the oar in public ves-

sels, in "all manner of service," perhaps in brick yards; although one cannot see what demand there should be at this period for bricks to the commonly supposed extent; in this part of Egypt certainly not, and it does not appear from the reports of travelers and explorers, that they were used in such numbers at Thebes as to employ slaves by the hundred thousand in their manufacture three hundred miles away.

It is very probable that the numbers of these people had become a source of anxiety to the Pharaohs, as the Hebrew traditions state, increased perhaps by recent experience in the time of Arisu. When, therefore, the vast Theban temples were projected, all who could be spared were taken thither. Those selected to remain were, of course, such as were experienced in their particular duties, who were descendants of the older captives, had been born and reared in slavery, and become in some degree Egyptian in feeling and character. Of their morals, the less said the better. Slavery is not very conducive to Christian graces as the late experience in Christian United States proves; and that "clean hands and a pure heart" were not characteristic of the slaves in pagan Egypt we have the evidence of mural paintings copied by the artists of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, but not described by tourists, of Herodotus (unexpurgated) and of certain passages in Leviticus. From hints in the Hebrew writers, it is clear that these people were subjected to a milder form of slavery; they dwelt largely in communities, and were allowed to regulate their common affairs by a sort of municipal government, having their own elders and officers (Ex. V. 14-15) and the community was responsible for the performance of a certain amount of labor, as "the tale of bricks." The communities were, of course, under the eye of a watchful police and strong military guards. They were public slaves, the property, so to speak,

of the state, of the Pharaohs; necessarily orderly, quiet and timid; for restless, refractory, turbulent spirits were sent to the Theban quarries.

Domestic slavery was then and there, as in more recent times in another part of the world, an institution. Its victims were the property of despotic, irresponsible masters and subject to all their caprices. One of the glories of the Mosaic code is its recognition of slaves as men, not excepting even those of alien races purchased by Hebrews. In so rich and fertile a land as northeastern Egypt, about equal in area to Connecticut and Rhode Island combined, the number of domestic slaves must have been very great. We shall meet many of them farther on.

The twelve Patriarchs had all passed away; the court was removed to Thebes; the sojourners in Goshen had lost the immediate protection of the Pharaohs; there was probably friction between them and the king's local representatives; all the conditions rendered the return to Canaan desirable; but before Ramses ended his reign it was manifest that the return under the protection of Egypt, if ever, must be indefinitely postponed, for there was no indication of a purpose at present to recover the Ruthen province. Why not then return at their own risk, and establish a commonwealth to remain independent or acknowledge the suzerainty of Egypt as the future might determine? It may justly be presumed, that a project of settling in Hebron and its vicinity had often been discussed by Joseph and any survivors of his brethren, with the heads of the tribes in the next generation, making the burial place at Mamre the central point—a project long thwarted by causes above noted. It is unreasonable to suppose that the princes of Aaron's and Moses' generation entertained at first any other; but even for this their force, three or four thousand men able to go

forth to war, was too small. In the then condition of Palestine, it would be mere foolhardiness to undertake a march of two hundred miles, air line, with their families, herds and flocks and all their wealth, so inadequately protected against combinations of marauding bands.

The first chapters of Exodus, in their contempt for all genealogical considerations, are like those of Genesis that contain the story of Joseph. By the genealogical data, the three months hiding of the infant Moses, his exposure upon the river, his discovery and adoption by the Pharaoh's daughter and his thus becoming learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, are mere fiction. This is another case in which the reader must decide for himself, which of the two he will accept, the story of Moses or the genealogies, one of them he must reject. When one compares the first fourteen chapters of Exodus with the last fourteen of Genesis, even in the English version, he notes a certain similarity of style and general character, which excites a suspicion that they belong together, and that this part of Exodus also was not from the pens of the B. Compilers, but takes the place of what they wrote, being the same substance paraphrased, amplified and profusely supplied with marvels and miracles. The suspicion is strengthened by the contrast with what precedes in Genesis and what follows in Exodus, and especially in Numbers. This is, however, but a suggestion to learned Hebraists and biblical critics. At all events, maugre all the arguments of the new school, there is a substratum of facts.

One of them, as we hold it to be, is, that Moses in some way incurred the displeasure of the reigning Pharaoh—by our chronology, Ramses III.—and saved his life by flight. He found refuge with a wealthy Kenite, Jethro or Raguel, who had separated himself from his people and was living a

Raguel

few miles distant from their "strong dwelling place," their nest in a rock, as an independent sheik. It will appear later where the place was, it suffices here to say, it was at a point where Moses could gather minute information upon the condition of Canaan and be in easy correspondence with Goshen. Jethro received the fugitive prince graciously, "appointed him to the superintendence of all his cattle" as Josephus expresses it, and soon gave him his daughter Zipporah to wife.

The narrative in Exodus makes the time from Moses' return to Goshen to the passage of the Jam Suph, but ten or twelve weeks at the most. The marginal chronology in English Bibles so understands, and crowds all the events recorded from Ex. IV. 29, to Numb. XIV. 45,—the second fight with the Amalekites—into the space of two years! It makes the sojourn of Moses with Jethro forty years, on the authority of Stephen¹, but either Stephen was mistaken or his words are misapprehended, for by Ex. IV. 20, et seq., Moses' sons at his return were still young children, and no one can seriously contend that he had been with Jethro some thirty years, and was approaching his eightieth year when he married. For aught that appears, he was again in Goshen at least twenty-five years before the exodus. Whether his absence was longer or shorter, it was the time when the man of action became the man of reflection and the competent military commander, also the great moral and religious lawgiver.

The old purpose of exchanging Goshen for the district of Hebron under the protection of the Pharaohs, developed in his mind into the magnificent project of seizing desolated Palestine entire, of dividing it among the twelve tribes and

¹ Acts, vii. 30.

of establishing a federal commonwealth subject to no human king. It should be a nation whose princes executed justice and judgment, and its people be "the happy people whose God is the Lord." The worship of El Shaddai, under the name Jahveh, should be exclusive, should alone be tolerated. The domestic and civic virtues, which had become traditional with the Hebrews, should be planted and developed among all who should join in the grand enterprise, by instruction and example and by all the force of statutes and laws. The commonwealth should be an expansion of the tribal brotherhood in Goshen into a federation of tribal states in Palestine. It was the first proposal recorded in history, to apply the principle, righteousness exalteth a nation.

Upon the decease of Ramses, a deputation from Goshen with Aaron at its head, crossed the desert to consult with Moses at the Mount of God, and recall him. His new plans may well have astounded the deputies by their boldness and grandeur, and the first question would be how and where to obtain an adequate military force? The evident answer to this was: that their own able-bodied men were rapidly increasing in number, and would soon be some ten to twelve thousand men; that the communities of Ruthenu, who were of the same race, spoke the same language and preserved traditions of Canaan as the land of their fathers, could supply a force of thirty to forty thousand; that by judiciously dividing them among the tribes, their own disciplined troops and experienced officers could easily hold them in due subjection, and that arguments and considerations could be urged upon the Ruthenu elders, that would not fail in time to procure their alliance.

The deputies were convinced of the possibility of the project, if not sanguine as to its success, and Moses returned

with them, invested with the power of a dictator. The persistent ignoring of the tribal organization throughout this part of the Great Roll results in absurdities of statements, which, when once attention is directed to the fact, are too obvious to need pointing out. One striking example occurs here. On reaching Goshen, Aaron and Moses are said to have called a convention of the *slave* elders, before which Aaron detailed their purposes and plans at length.¹ A convention of slaves to discuss plans of rebellion! Where were their guards, police, taskmasters? The story is simply a distorted notice of the convocation of the Hebrew princes and heads of houses to which the deputation reported, and before which the new project was detailed and, after discussion, adopted, provided the coöperation of the Ruthenu could be secretly gained, on which its success depended.

The conditions were never more favorable for such an enterprise. It was the period when Brugsch's tables enumerate nine ephemeral, in part contemporary and hostile, Pharaohs in the Nile valley, whose minds were occupied by other matters than the doings of Hebrew cattle breeders and traders in a distant province, ruled by a royal governor with ample military power.²

The elders of the communities could only be approached with the utmost caution and secrecy. No hasty action could be taken by the Hebrews without immediate risk of failure, and, consequently, a rupture in their relations with the Pharaoh, who could surround Goshen with all the military power of his kingdom and destroy them root and branch. Happily, haste was not needed. Much was still to be done and effected in Goshen itself by way of preparation. The lines of tribal, political demarcation were yet to be defined,

¹ Ex. iv. 29, et seq.

² See Brugsch, 618, et seq.

and each tribe become accustomed to the exercise of its powers and the practice of its duties in its separate capacity, and to its limitations as member of the future federation; for, on the one hand it cannot be supposed that occasion had ever arisen for so strict a political constitution; and, on the other, the subsequent history is incomprehensible without it.

It must, therefore, have been here, and now that the Constitution was adopted and put in force upon a small scale, which proved effective in its operation, so long as the tribes were together and laboring to a common end and purpose, but lamentably failed when they were separated in Palestine, with no central power to compel coöperation in defence against the bordering peoples.

It is but crediting the Hebrew leaders with common sense and ordinary prudence to assume that at the outset they brought the tribes to an agreement as to the limits of the territory to be seized and to its disposition in case of success, and bound them to it by solemn pledges. The limits as given in Numb. XXXIV. were substantially, on the north the line of Mt. Hermon, on the east that of the Jordan, on the south that of Kadesh, on the west the coast of the Mediterranean. The disposition to be made of it was its division into twelve as equal parts as might be, and the assignment of one part to a tribe by lot. True, this chapter professedly relates to but nine tribes and a half tribe, and the date is just before the crossing of the Jordan by Joshua, but, though here first mentioned, that it had been so determined in Goshen is not a mere conjecture based upon the supposed necessity of the case; it finds, we think, confirmation in the imperfect records that have come down to us, according to which, one tribe seems to have been originally exempted from taking its territory by lot, and another had

none assigned to it. By the so-called blessings of Jacob and Moses¹ the tribe of Zebulon seems to have engaged in commerce and navigation in Goshen, and by general consent was to have possessed the coast; but even before the exodus, Philistia had become too strong for the Hebrews to attack, and Zebulon finally received an inland district by lot.

The first notice of the exclusion of the tribe of Levi from the allotment of territory, we find, is so late as that in Numb. XVIII. 20. Yet one of the first questions that would arise in the deliberations in Goshen would be as to the future position of that tribe. The abuse of their wealth and power by the Egyptian priesthood was a warning to the Hebrew princes against permitting such a danger to the common weal to arise among them. The tribe of Levi already possessed the influence natural to the learned, sacerdotal order, and had given to the tribes Moses, the great leader of the proposed conquest. We know that at some time Moses, his family and tribe, did relinquish the military and political power which a separate territory would have given them; when, if not in Goshen? There is a curious proof in the first census that it was then and there. The emancipated Ruthenu were divided in Goshen among the tribes, Levi excepted; why this exception, but because it was already determined that the tribe should possess no territory requiring a numerous people for its cultivation and defence?

Again; the tribes Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh, just before the close of Moses' administration, caused great dissatisfaction by a petition to be allowed to settle in the district already conquered east of the Jordan. As we read Numb. XXXII. and XXXIV. the point of offense was in the breach of an original contract between the tribes to act together in the conquest of an area clearly defined west of the

¹ Gen xlix. Deut. xxxiii.

Jordan, and to settle together in it for the better mutual protection and defence. The designated area divided into ten parts, instead of twelve, gave each tribe a larger territory, but in like ratio lessened its power of resistance to an enemy, as the event proved, by spreading nine and a half tribes over an area intended for twelve. Even more disastrous in the future was the abandonment of the defensible boundary of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, which the original compact established, as we hold, before leaving Goshen.

If these views be correct, if these matters of such high importance were thus pre-adjusted, if the constitution of the infant nation was already working without friction before the exodus, one can understand and not otherwise, the Hebrews' movement out of Egypt, "by their armies," the sudden appearance of the tribes and their princes clad with patriarchal power at Horeb, and the point and scope of the imposing ceremonies there.

But to reach such a pre-adjustment was not the work of a day, it may have required years. The heads of the Levite houses could hardly have been ready at a moment's warning to make the immense sacrifices demanded of them, nor could the heads of the tribes see with complacency Ephraim and Manasseh made princes equal in dignity to themselves, made heads each of a separate tribe, thus giving to the descendants of Joseph double political power. It must have required time to reconcile conflicting views and interests, and it would be a blow at Moses' reputation for prudence, sagacity and wisdom to suppose he would approach the Ruthenu elders until they were settled.

During the years after his return there were no changes on the surface of affairs beyond the slow revival of commerce and the increase in the numbers and wealth of the Hebrews. The great northern irruption, as we have seen,

prostrated trade to the north and east, but could have had little if any but a temporary effect upon that via the Jam Suph and the Red Sea. As the ports of Philistia and Phœnicia rose from their ashes, commerce was renewed with them, but its extent could not be great so long as their back country, Palestine and the land of the Chittim, remained comparatively desolate. But the more Goshen seemed absorbed in the reviving commerce and trade, the more secretly and effectively could the negotiations with the Ruthenu be prosecuted, when the time for them came.

Nothing can be imagined more admirably fitted to the end proposed than the considerations which are recorded as having been presented to the Ruthenu elders; for in those ages, a nation without a national god was an impossible conception, and, per contra, a national deity necessarily implied a nation.

Every important city even had its own divinity, as Roman Catholic cities now their patron Saints—Amon of Thebes, Dagon of Gaza, Pallas Athena of Athens, Diana of Ephesus, Stephen of Vienna, Mark of Venice, Justus of Trieste. The case was presented to the elders in substance thus:

Your ancestors, long before their subjection by Egypt, were a nation with a national god. Oppressed at home and enslaved here, you, their descendants, have long forgotten him and turned to the vile and obscene gods of your oppressors; but he has never forgotten you. He has appeared to me in my exile, revealed to me his name, Jahveh, and that he is the same god whom we Hebrews, of the same race as yourselves, worship under the name El Shaddai. He has seen your affliction and the oppression under which you groan, his compassion is aroused, and the time has come when he has resolved to deliver you. He has given to me

and Aaron, my brother, a charge to speak to the Pharaoh and to bring you, as future children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt. But there are conditions indispensable. You must solemnly renounce and abandon all other gods and return to him, must become by adoption seed of Abraham, be incorporated with the Hebrews and place yourselves unreservedly under our guidance as Jahveh's chosen servants and representatives.

The elders received the proposition coldly. They were old, conservative, timid, fainthearted through a life of bondage; moreover, their position personally was one of a certain superiority to their fellow slaves, and their condition one of comparative ease and comfort. They naturally viewed the approaches of the free Hebrews with some degree of distrust and suspicion. The proposed magnificent enterprise was beyond their comprehension. They were aghast at the temerity of the Goshen people in proposing to defy the power of Egypt. They could not commit themselves to so wild a project. Better bear accustomed ills than fly to others unknown.

We must imagine, during the following years, Moses busy in Goshen with a thousand cares and labors, leaving his propositions to the Ruthenu to make their way. Every retainer of the Hebrews was unwittingly an effective agent to this end, by exhibiting in his person the contrast in the condition of the free servant in Goshen and the Egyptian slave. Meantime, the old elders were passing away and giving place to younger men of other minds. By the record, Moses was approaching his eightieth year, and this is reasonable, when so many of the communities had been gained as to provide an allied force of some thirty to forty thousand men. But these people could not rise against their guards with any hope of success; should they attempt it and fail,

massacre or the Theban quarries awaited them. They, therefore, as the event proves, made their emancipation by the Hebrews the condition of their alliance.

The expressions in Exodus, "harnessed," "armed," "by their armies," "with their armies," "with a high hand," indicate that the movement was in military array, and so Josephus understood it. "Moses, in obedience to the divine command, convened all the Hebrews in one place, dividing them into tribes and companies."¹ If the extreme haste at the departure be a fact, as it undoubtedly is, such a movement "by armies" was out of the question, unless it was pre-arranged; altogether so, if those engaged in it were the wretched slaves of Ex. V., suddenly emancipated by the death of the firstborn within a few weeks of Moses' return from Midian. This is so self-evident that commentators have been put to all sorts of shifts to save their slaves and miracles and avoid the plain meaning of these phrases, which reflect a precaution dictated by common prudence, viz: that of apportioning beforehand the Ruthenu among the tribes, Levi excepted, and giving the liberators, on the night of emancipation, precise instructions as to the tribe to which each contingent should be led.

The first half of Exodus is a story of successive wonders and miracles accepted as indisputable facts by what the orthodox call faith, and the heterodox, boundless credulity. Dr. Robinson, in his tenth lecture on the Pharaohs, defends the miracles. "The great thing to notice is, that the Lord has chosen his methods for himself, and what He has invariably chosen is miracles for his seals of authentication." The lecturer believes in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; it is Moses himself therefore, who records these seals

¹ Antiq. ii., 8.

of authentication; not recording all, but so many as to answer the purpose. Hence, when one is utterly at a loss to understand how some statement can possibly be true, he is relieved by the reflection that here is a miracle which Moses thought not necessary to state expressly. What are half a dozen miracles more or less to the "strong in faith?" Just now, when we are drawing near the exodus, this simple mode of solving puzzles is extremely convenient to such as need it, for others confront us still, which the commentators have passed by in silence. Abandoning for the moment the genealogical chronology, its deductions and corollaries, for the views of the orthodox school of theologists and Egyptologists, we will illustrate the method by a few cases. Of course, we are for the nonce endorsing the four centuries of Hebrew slavery and the two millions of fugitives.

After some three centuries of this bondage, Seti I. saw that his slaves, in despite of all he could do, were multiplying in the land, the Hebrew people were getting too thick for his comfort. He thinned them out by direct murder of their little ones at birth. He thought no more of such a crime than of using sparrows to get rid of worms on his fruit-trees, and Ramses the Great "kept Israel under desperate burdens of carrying brick and digging black clay until the nation groaned in its irrepressible agony under the taskmasters."¹ Under Mineptah II. the Hebrews are "abject and suffering under intolerable burdens, and food is insufficiently provided."² Under this same Mineptah, as we are told, the first born were smitten, and the Hebrews hurried away "with flocks and herds and very much cattle." The puzzle here is, how such slaves had such possessions of herds and flocks. How easy is the solution. A special

¹ Robinson, p. 72.

² ib. 84.

miraculous interposition of divine providence had restrained the successive Pharaohs, through four hundred years, from confiscating the possession given to Jacob, and from interfering with the Hebrew business of cattle breeding!

The poor wretches, hurrying away from Succoth, encamp at Etham, and day after day encamp or pitch at the various places named. Some five weeks after the start, the gatherers of manna gather also for them who were in the tents; a few weeks later every man stood at the door of his tent to look at Moses. This is sufficient to prove that, poor as they were, they were supplied with tents at the outset. Two millions of people at ten to a tent require 200,000 tents. The question here is, when and where they obtained and how, on foot, they transported them; or rather it would be an insoluble enigma, if we could not see here clear as sunlight one of Moses' unrecorded seals of authenticity. Miracle explains the matter to the meanest comprehension. The supply of food taken on that night long to be remembered, was unleavened dough in kneading troughs "bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders." The commentators do not state how the two millions were fed during the four weeks from Succoth to the finding of manna; probably because they hold the solution of this puzzle too obvious to need remark, viz: that here was another case of miracle.

Between Sin and Sinai, Joshua—a general whose name now first appears,¹ and who, perhaps a few months before, was one of the officers of the children of Israel, mentioned in Ex. V. 14, 15—selects an army of the fugitive slaves, well armed, and fights a victorious battle with Amalek. Of course, Jahveh inspired commander and men with skill and courage, but it is still a puzzle, whence came the weapons? Josephus gives the clue. From the depths of the Red Sea

¹ Ex. xvii. 9.

where the Egyptian army "sank as lead in the mighty waters," "miracle caused the heavy spears, swords and javelins to rise like corks." On the day following the above mentioned judgment, the arms of the Egyptians were driven on shore, near to the spot where the Hebrews had pitched their tents, etc.

These cases are sufficient to illustrate the point. "It is not the miracles," says Dr. Robinson, "that are in the Bible, it is the account of the miracles. The miracles were facts; then a few men out of the hundreds of witnesses were inspired to record and describe them, and the inspiration was another miracle. So, the story of Moses' rod changed into a serpent, recorded in the Pentateuch by Moses, is a miracle indorsed by a miracle. Both were wrought as an "evidence of God's truth and power."¹

Happily, we are not disputing the seals of authentication, "the evidences of God's truth and power," but simply showing the results to which the genealogies, if authentic, logically bring us. It is our misfortune, not our fault, that they are so largely heterodox. In Ex. VI. is a singularly clear and specific genealogy of that Aaron and Moses, to whom Jahveh said, "bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies." This, we are assured, was written by Moses under inspiration, which was itself a miracle. Now, we find this to be one of a long series of genealogies and genealogic notices by various inspired writers, scattered along a period of a thousand years, all marvelously coherent, congruous, consistent. But Dr. Edward Robinson and Prof. Riddle inform us that at least six generations are lacking to cover the four hundred years of slavery from Joseph to the exodus.

¹ Antiq. ii. 16.

¹ Dr. R., p. 144.

Such omissions of particular generations did sometimes actually occur; because they were wicked and impious according to the Rabbins.¹ But how could the miracle of inspiration permit Moses, Ezra and so many others, to be guilty of suppression of truth to the extent of just these six generations, and of assertion of falsity in making Amram, Kohath and Levi, respectively the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Aaron and Moses? It has only to be demonstrated that divine inspiration did permit this *suppressio veri* and *assertio falsi*, and all the heterodoxy of this essay is confuted, for it rests upon the assumption that Moses knew his father and grandfather, and that his record of them is the truth, the statements regarding the four centuries of bondage, even if he made them, to the contrary notwithstanding. But did he make them?

The writer's special reasons for doubting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as also those for holding the genealogies to have been drawn from original family records still extant as late as the time of the Chronicler, are set forth later in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXODUS.

II. PREPARATIONS. ACHIEVEMENT.

We resume our narrative at the moment when Moses sent his wife and sons back to Jethro.² It is to be inferred from this, that the sons were still so young as to need a father's care, or, in default thereof, that of their wise old

¹ Harmony of the Gospels, p. 162.

² Ex. xviii. 2, 3.

grandfather; and this again suggests the date as being still some years before the great event. A second inference is, that Moses was thus obliged to free himself from family cares and, in fact, from whatever could distract him from his manifold public duties, because the negotiations with the Ruthenu had reached the point where a favorable issue was so probable as to warrant making preparations for the movement.

The wealth of the Hebrews was dwelt upon in a former chapter with particular regard to those perplexities, which, as we have just seen, can only on the orthodox views be resolved by assuming unrecorded miracles. In those days of caravans, the amount of all kinds of supplies needed by a certain number for a definite time, was as easily computed as in our day for an army or fleet. Given time, pecuniary means and skilled labor, all demands were easily met. Time and means there certainly were; how was it as to the skilled labor? It has also before been shown, that Egypt was the school in which the Hebrews and their retainers learned the art of urban life. We hold the vanished Rameses to have been the capital of Goshen, and that Hebrew artisans and mechanics, who had been in service elsewhere, had now, in this period of depressed trade, returned thither and added their numbers to those usually employed there. Food, shelter, arms, clothing and transportation were to be provided, and all the factors to solve the problem of their production, were therefore now found in Goshen. It was a matter to which the Hebrew families would attend, each for itself; but as the slave folk would join them utterly destitute, it devolved upon the prince and council of each tribe to provide for the contingent apportioned to it. Bear in mind that the original purpose was to march by the shortest route and include the sea coast in the conquest, but, owing

to the long delay, this plan was changed for one to be discussed later, but which lengthened the journey a few weeks at the most. That these weeks were prolonged into many years could not have been foreseen, and this, therefore, was not a factor in computing the amount of supplies to be provided. The estimate was only for a passage across the desert that might, as in fact it did, bring them, in a little more than a month, to a point where all necessities were easily obtainable.

There were three articles, to produce which in extraordinary numbers, might attract notice and awaken suspicion—arms, tents and wagons;¹ but, by manufacturing them in the privacy of the Rameses workshops and distributing them among the families, this slight danger was avoided. Clothing and articles commonly sold in Pithom and other markets, though produced in large quantities, would not be remarked. In the field, the herdsmen could greatly multiply beasts of burden, oxen, bullocks, asses, and, unless a profitable business of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had been abandoned, camels;² butchers dried the flesh of sheep and goats; hide-dressers prepared water-skins, the bottles of the Bible, all ostensibly for sale when trade revived. The purchase of breadstuffs, lentils, dates and other common articles of food taken by caravans was safely deferred until the time of departure was fixed. All this is so obvious that it almost seems like underrating the intelligence of the reader thus to enter into details.

Chapters VI. to XII. inclusive, of Exodus, contain the negotiations between the Hebrew leaders and the Pharaoh for permission to depart. The discrepancies in the story as here told have too often been pointed out, and the argu-

¹ Numb. vii. 2, et seq.

² Gen. xxiv. 10, xxxii. 15.

ments for and against receiving it as historic too often repeated, and are too easily accessible to require notice here. There is still another reason for wasting no space upon them, viz: by the chronology of this essay, which confutes the bondage of the Hebrews, transfers the capital from Zoan to Thebes in the reign of Ramses III., and restores the tribal organization, with its princes and heads of houses, to its proper place in the history—by this chronology, these chapters are little better than a mass of dramatic scenes, inconsistent with reason and with the plain dictates of common sense, through which, however, here and there gleams of facts drawn from authentic records seem to flicker.

Suppose, for a moment, we reject our chronology and accept the story. By it Moses and Aaron, belonging by birth to the enslaved people, confront the Egyptian monarch in his palace and coolly demand in the name of a god of whom he had never heard, the god of his own slaves, permission for 600,000 servile laborers, with their families, to leave their daily toil and proceed three days' journey to some place outside his dominions to hold a religious festival of uncertain duration, and this, too, with no pledge or assurance of returning at its close! What unparalleled impudence and insolence! Imagine two prominent negro preachers thus approaching the governors of Virginia or Kentucky fifty years since!

By our chronology the historic kernel of the story is clear enough. The preliminaries to the exodus having been settled and the preparations for it made, a deputation of prominent Hebrews journeyed to Thebes to announce the intention of exchanging the now straitened "possession" in Goshen for a settlement elsewhere, adequate to their enlarged and increasing numbers, and to request a permit to pass out unmolested through the fortress, Mineptah-Hote-

phima, as their ancestors in the time of Joseph had passed in. Such a mission would be conducted with the pomp and circumstance of an embassy from an independent people, and its head naturally be the high priest or the heir of his dignity—Amram, if still living, or his eldest son, Aaron.¹

* The loss of Palestine as a province accounts for the unwillingness of the Pharaoh to grant the order. It was no small matter, this of allowing a wealthy, industrious, enterprising people to pass with all its movable property beyond Egyptian jurisdiction. To suppose that the deputies appeared before him as bondmen, or were so imprudent as to injure their own cause by taking up that of the slave population is preposterous.

We apprehend that the repeated interviews related in Exodus between the Pharaoh and Moses, as if they were near neighbors, have also a basis of fact; this: more than once the embassy returned from Thebes with the desired order; a deputation was sent to present it to the commander of the fortress, and to inform him as to the day when it was proposed to profit by it, only to learn that it had been rescinded. Hence, other journeys to the capital, perhaps, at intervals of months, until the patience of both parties was exhausted.

The assumption that the B. compilers and, therefore, the author of these chapters if not written by them, had ancient records before them, estops us from doubting these repeated embassies, or that a series of calamities befel the people of the Nile valley and Delta, from which Goshen lying higher and dryer was exempt, or that these plagues as they are called, were a factor in the final accomplishment of the plans of the Hebrews.

Fürst also understands, that the representatives of the

¹ Ex. iv. 14, 16.

people (Volksvertreter), the heads of tribes and houses, accompanied Aaron and Moses, and were present at all the negotiations with the Pharaoh, and that a considerable interval, he says of seven years, separated the first and last interviews; but his interpretation of the original writings is biased by his holding to the old chronology, to the slavery of the Hebrews, "nearly 144 years," and to the nearness of Goshen to the capital; hence it is gratifying to find him on these two points substantially agreeing with the inferences drawn by very different reasonings from the genealogies. In his pages immediately following, he presents, we think, the rational view of the plagues more forcibly and concisely than any other writer.

He shows by abundant testimony of ancient and modern travelers and observers of the highest repute, that all the plagues without exception have often been repeated, though not in so rapid succession nor in such severity as described in Exodus. He explains the cause and marks the season in the year of each, and points out that, beginning in the middle of June, with the Nile red in color and fetid in odor, they could follow substantially in the order recorded, and close with the hail, darkness and oft recurring pestilence in early spring. Such, he concludes, was the fact.¹ But is not this doubtful? Does it not shimmer through the story, that certain plagues were associated in the minds of the Theban citizens with the fruitless embassies? The envoys assuredly were not journeying to and fro during the months of the general inundation. Their business was no secret. Their arrival in Thebes, their object, their presence at court, their departure with the royal warrant, were a part of the news and gossip of the day. A few weeks later, a plague of unusual severity distresses them and, coincident

¹ Geschichte der Biblische Literatur I., 322 and 324, et seq.

with it, comes news from Goshen that the Hebrews have not been allowed to depart. Two or three like coincidences, explained by the envoys or their followers as judgments of their god for the Pharaoh's breach of faith, would carry conviction to the popular mind of this cause and effect. Hence, if the deputies were alternately at the capital and in Goshen as the story, as told both in Exodus and here, represents, the plagues could not have followed, blow upon blow, all within eight or nine months of Fürst's year of distress (Nothjahr). There is, however, no apparent reason to doubt that the last three or four did occur in rapid succession during the last stay of the envoys at Thebes.

Very elaborate and specious arguments have appeared in late years, to prove the story of the passover a romance of long subsequent date, composed to give a pretended historic basis to the great spring festival; as the romance, Esther, pretends to give the historic origin of the purim festival of 12th Adar, a month earlier.¹ The genealogies by bringing the date of the exodus from the ages of myth and fable to historic times, deprive these arguments of all force in regard to the main point, although they do show indubitably, that the minute instructions related in Ex. XII. are in part interpolated to sanction forms and ceremonies of the festival introduced by Hezekiah, Josiah and the exile prophets. The story of Esther abounds in anachronisms, this does not, as will appear. Greater credulity is required to believe the narrative of the plagues and passover wholly a fabrication, than to take it, the miraculous coloring excepted, for a statement drawn from authentic records.

We return to our chapters of lost history.

So long as the Hebrews remained in Goshen they owed

¹ See Graetz in *Monatsschrift B.* xxxv.

a certain allegiance to the Pharaohs, precisely as if in Palestine, and that land still an Egyptian province. Herein lay mainly the present trouble. The Pharaohs had lost all their conquests north of the Sinaitic peninsula and, should the Hebrews once pass the Jam Suph, Egypt would lose a very numerous, enterprising and wealthy people, from whom a large revenue was derived, and whose military force was a protection to the frontier. There was evidently some suspicion, perhaps knowledge, at Thebes of the intrigues with the Ruthenu bondmen, which added to the strain upon the peaceful relations between the court and the Hebrews.

This appears in the traditions of the increased severity of the slavery of the "children of Israel," which imply an augmentation of their military guards, a strengthened police, and a more numerous body of unrelenting taskmasters and overseers. The court would gladly have found any decent pretext for reducing the Hebrews also to slavery and seizing their wealth, had any such project appeared feasible. Their cautious leaders afforded no such pretext, and the court knew that any overt act could be met by exciting a servile insurrection, as disastrous to Egypt as were the troublous times of Arisu. The tradition that the king became convinced of the infliction of the plagues by the God of the Hebrews is not trustworthy; that "Pharaoh's servants" and the people were, undoubtedly is. The incident narrated¹ of the officers of the children of Israel chiding Aaron and Moses for causing the increase of their afflictions, also reflects a truth. The years were passing away and the promises to the elders seemed as far off from fulfillment as ever, and only evil had yet resulted from their meddling.

For these and other obvious considerations action could

¹ Ex. V. 20, et seq.

no longer be deferred. The strained relations with the Pharaoh, and the increasing distrust of the Ruthenu elders, compelled the early execution of the grand project or its abandonment. All the preliminaries were settled, all the preparations made. The elders were soothed by positive assurances that on a day fixed they should be emancipated; or, if not, the effort made to free them should be so conducted as not to involve them in its consequences; these, however disastrous, should be borne by the Hebrews alone. They had only to keep quiet for a short season, bear their burdens patiently and so conduct themselves as to prevent or allay any possible suspicion.

The time appointed was the night of the first full moon after the vernal equinox, that of the 14th, 15th Nisan, just after the short winter of those countries was past, when the springs were full, the vegetation of the oases and wadies at its best, the days lengthening and the atmosphere of the desert still cooled by breezes from the Judean mountains and the Negeb.¹

It was determined before proceeding to any overt action to appeal once more to the Pharaoh for leave to depart.

Assuming the last three or four plagues to have occurred during this mission, the envoys, with imposing "pride, pomp and circumstance," appeared at Thebes about the first of March.

The account of their interviews with the king increases in dramatic intensity and culminates in, "And Pharaoh said unto him (Moses): Get thee from me, take heed to thyself; see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die." Historically interpreted, the monarch gave the envoys fair and proper warning that he would no longer

¹ See Note viii.

recognize them in their official capacity nor further grant them the immunities of ambassadors; and so Moses understood it; but his reply is significant of more than its words express: "Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face no more." It may be said, very plausibly, that the awful threats put into the lips of Moses (Ex. XI. 4, 8,) of the destruction of all the first born, man and beast, are a continuation of the speech just cited (X. 29), but, by v. 21, Chap. XII., he was again in Goshen when the blow fell, and when the king called for Moses and Aaron by night (v. 31). Let him who can, make a congruous, rational narrative out of the three Chapters X.-XII. as they stand! They are by the poet, let us say; surely not by the historian. But what is to be expected in a digest of the authorities by writers who ignore the tribal organization and all that it implies? Imagine a history of the United States, from the Boston writs of assistance, 1761, to the treaty of peace, 1783, in which the colonial and state governments are ignored and the *dramatis personae* confined to the Adamses, Washington, unnamed elders, the people, and the New England puritans' God; even such a work would be founded upon authentic records, and so is Exodus.

Early in March, then, the breach between the Pharaoh and the envoys was complete, and there remained naught to be done by the latter but to return to Goshen and execute the plan already formed to meet the case; but, before they could depart, the terrible kamsin came sweeping from the desert and rendered traveling impossible. It brought the darkness that might be felt and the pestilence that spared neither palace nor hut. "The man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants and in the sight of the people." The court could now no longer resist the pressure of the public opinion. Ex. XII. 31-33, in characteristic style, certainly records a fact, viz: that under

this pressure an order was issued in due form for opening the gates of the fortress.

If the kamsin reached Thebes six or eight days before the equinox, then, by Fürst's authorities, the pestilence may have broken out even before March 21; at all events, so early that the embassy might depart very soon after that date.

All the indications, including dates stated and inferred in the later records, point to the first week in April as that in which the first full moon after the equinox fell. The traditional hurry of the exodus, therefore, reflects a fact, though extremely distorted by the Hebrew writer.

Time pressed; the good faith of the Pharaoh was doubtful, and not less than eleven or twelve days were required for the homeward journey and the final dispositions. Whether or not the Pharaoh this time acted in good faith, or that Moses really trusted him, it was of great importance to know if the commander at Etham would obey the order, and common prudence dictated the sending of swift messengers in advance to ascertain this. As the distance between Goshen and the fortress was not great, we apprehend that Moses found a favorable reply awaiting him at Rameses, and immediately sent couriers to give notice that the movement would begin on the 15th, and that he should appear with the royal warrant at the gates on the 18th or 19th. Adequate proof of this lies in the fact that Moses did march thither at that date. Although the commander proved faithless, as will be seen, yet his favorable reply in itself was of incalculable advantage to the Hebrew leaders. They now could make their final dispositions openly, and the more ostentatiously the better to guard against any possible suspicion of their understanding with the Ruthenu elders.

Fancy justly pictures the loading of wagons, the mak-

ing of packages for transport by the beasts of burden, the purchase of supplies in Pithom, the closing up of business relations, the leave-takings between old friends and acquaintances, the bestowal of parting gifts, the arranging for the restoration of their "possession" with its city to the Pharaoh—indeed all the busy confusion during these last days which such a migration in mass would produce then, as now.

Goshen was already overpeopled in the reign of Ramses III. and, in the more than a generation since, the Hebrews had, at the lowest computation, doubled in numbers. Thus they were compelled to form colonies, so to speak, in the suburbs of the neighboring cities, Pithom, Bubastus and others; a circumstance which the writer of Ex. I. 7, et seq., used and distorted to suit his purpose.

These communities had also quietly made ready to join the main body in the migration, and the order to move, sent them on the 9th or 10th, gave ample time to reach the place of rendezvous on the 14th, to the evening of which we now come.

By the conclusions to which the genealogies have led us, the minute directions in Ch. XII. to sprinkle the door posts with blood, not to go out of the house until morning and the like, if held to be addressed to the Hebrews in Goshen, are nonsense; but considered as orders addressed to the elders of the bondmen, are wise, prudent and credible. Young animals would only be an incumbrance in crossing the desert, and it could arouse no surprise nor suspicion that the Hebrews disposed of them before their departure. Hence, on the 10th (v. 3) the elders were notified, that lambs and kids would be supplied to their people for a feast on the evening of the 14th. This, too, would cause no suspicion, for the Egyptian authorities would see in it a simple act of charity combined with the request that a feast be

held on that evening in honor of the Hebrew god and to invoke his favor and protection for their benefactors.

Since these people returned from their various labors in the evening, the hour was late when their feast was prepared, and they were to be ready to hurry away at a moment's notice. Hence the orders to eat in haste and dress for the journey before them. Even the order to burn what was not eaten had its reason. It was equivalent to, "Eat your fill, save not for the morrow, you shall be fully provided for." The elders and officers (v. 14, 15,) of the slave communities doubtless lived apart, in houses like those of the Egyptian officials, and sprinkling their door posts and lintels was a wise precaution. That in Goshen also a general feast was held that night seems a matter of course, and under the circumstances could awaken no distrust. Thus interpreted, Ex. XII. relates in its peculiar style the shrewd measures adopted to lull suspicion and ensure the success of the blow now to be struck: and here, as in other chapters, it is incomparably more credible that the writer had historic records before him, than that the story is a late invention.

All was now in readiness for the start, save the liberation of the slaves. In the night, by the light of the full moon, the Hebrew army in detachments moves rapidly across the plains to the various places where the slave population was quartered. Surprised everywhere by totally unexpected foes, resistance was feeble or none, and patrols, taskmasters, guards—all the agents of oppression, civil and military, were swept away. It was an act of vengeance for the enslaved, of treacherous necessity for the Hebrews.

There is no intimation that any other blood was shed. On the other hand, the bondmen are represented as parting amicably with their Egyptian neighbors, who knew that they had no hand in the slaughter, and, under the pretense

of a religious festival in the desert, as borrowing festive ornaments and raiment of them, leaving their small possessions in pledge.

The pestilence at Thebes, and this bloody liberation of the slaves, being both associated with the departure from Goshen, came in course of time to be considered as a single event, and were finally wrought into the legend of the destruction by the hand of Jahveh of "all the first born in Egypt, from the first born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the first born of the captive in the dungeon, and all the first born of cattle." The massacre, though so shrewdly planned and boldly executed was not a topic on which later writers would willingly linger. It was far more to the credit both of their ancestors and Jahveh to see the divine agent of destruction in it, than the hand of Moses and Aaron.

This interpretation of Ex. XII. 29, must shock many a reader. But look through the context. By it, Moses and Aaron are in Goshen when at midnight "Jahveh smote all the first born;" the Pharaoh's messengers then call them to Thebes; there the king yields; they return to Goshen and march from Rameses all the self-same night. These statements are by one and the same authority and, therefore, equally worthy of belief, *no one* more than another. While the reader is harmonizing them he may recover from the shock.

The expressions, "according to their armies," by their armies, "with their armies," used in most versions of Exodus and Numbers, from Luther and the English translation of 1611 to the Vienna Hebrew German Bible, have lately been changed by substituting hosts, in the sense of multitudes, for armies.

It is no improvement. The recorded order of march on

leaving Sinai some fourteen months later, was not new in any other sense than as an alteration of that before, to meet certain new conditions; for the account of the movements from Goshen thither is unintelligible unless they were made tribe by tribe, each led and guarded by its own military force; and this is what is meant by "Jahveh did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies."

The general arrangement of the tribes, their armies, non-combatants, herds and flocks, had been predetermined, but as the multitudes would occupy a space measured by square miles, the rendezvous was of necessity in the open country where there was room to bring all into position. The notion that all gathered at Rameses to start thence is absurd. The people from the other settlements were already on the spot, and while the army was engaged in liberating the slaves, Rameses was evacuated, and its citizens, with the headquarters of Moses, proceeded also thither; and during the night and next day, one military detachment after another with its freedmen came in.

The place was Succoth. Dr. Robinson, as we have seen, identifies it with Pithom. It is rather remarkable, speaking mildly, that Moses should lead his people from one city to another, and that the writer of this part of Exodus should state in Ch. I. that the children of Israel built Pithom, and then should call it Succoth in Ch. XII. Succoth has also been identified with the Egyptian district Thukut, but not proved to be so. The word is one which, singular and plural, occurs in the Hebrew scriptures from Genesis to the prophets, and in all cases means booths, sheds and the like.

The feast of tabernacles is everywhere feast of the Succoth. Jacob built him a house and made booths for his cattle, "therefore the name of the place is called Succoth."

If booths or sheds were needed in Canaan for cattle, how much more under the torrid sun of Africa. It would be a strange vagary of the writers of Genesis and Exodus, if, having given the name and its derivation in the one, they use it for the city Pithom in the other, and that, too, when their contemporary poets and prophets are using it in its proper significance.

The herds and flocks of the Hebrews could not roam at will beyond the limits of the "possession;" there must have been places where the animals in that climate could find shade and a supply of water from wells or canals; rivers and brooks there were none. But the more natural and obvious hypothesis is, that the Succoth were permanently established for the cattle market and fairs. Again, the Hebrews moved from Rameses to Etham "in haste;" why should they go round by Pithom? As to Thukut, if Succoth be Thukut by philological sense, it is the booths by common sense. No human sagacity and foresight could anticipate all the minute regulations for the march of so vast a body, nor make beforehand an exact assignment of the allies to the tribes in due proportions. Rest, too, after such a night was indispensable. The 15th Nisan therefore was passed at Succoth.

It is probable that the direction taken next day was determined upon with no small doubt and misgiving. If, as before suggested, Moses' supposed reply to the Pharaoh, "Thou sayest well, I *will* see thy face no more," hints at some well digested scheme in case of another repulse, the question on the 14th was whether to trust the king and move directly to Etham, or execute the project in reserve. This may reasonably have been, to seize all the shipping and boats on the canal and Jam Suph about Pithom, to hasten thither from all quarters, and push the business of

crossing, day and night, until all were upon the opposite shore.

If the effort to liberate the bondmen that night proved successful, the Egyptian military force in that quarter would be destroyed, and no other army was so near as to interfere in such a movement. The time that elapsed before the appearance of one after the return from Etham, proves this. The plan was therefore feasible. Once on the eastern shore, and all the vessels and boats destroyed, the Hebrews could easily reach a defensible position before a hostile force could be organized, make provision for crossing the desert, march around via Etham and overtake them. It was, however, decided to trust the king and his commander of the fortress and march to Etham.

There is an ancient Jewish tradition that the so-called passage of the Red Sea was made on the 21st Nisan, and, considering the distances now to accomplish and the possible rate of progress, it is credible; indeed, it is the date to which we shall be led.

The direct route from Succoth to the Shur passage was northeast, but afforded no water. The Hebrew hosts, therefore, must be pictured by fancy on the 16th, as moving tribe by tribe, by their armies, east across the plain to the fresh waters of the Jam Suph. On the 17th they then skirt its shore to the Shur, and on the 18th the van is before the fortress, it has reached Etham in the edge of the desert. The gates are shut, and the commander refuses to open them. To force a passage is impossible. There had not been time for tidings of the liberation of the bondmen to have reached Thebes, and orders in consequence of that transaction to be conveyed to Etham. The commander was, therefore, acting under previous instructions, and, if so, it was evident that he was an instrument in the execution of a plot to destroy the

Hebrews. From hints found in the obscurities of Exodus, and by inferences drawn from the foregoing pages of this essay, we apprehend the case to have been this: The existence of a so rapidly multiplying and wealthy alien people near the eastern frontier, had for some time been a source of uneasiness to the Egyptian court. Their augmenting numbers excited jealousy, their increasing wealth, cupidity. Since the loss of the Asiatic provinces, the migration of this people thither would put them beyond the power of the Pharaoh, and the revenues drawn from them would be lost. To attempt to reduce them to slavery, or even largely to curtail their privileges or invade their rights, was out of the question, since, as before noted, it was in their power to excite a servile insurrection at any moment, which the king at Thebes, now busy with architectural projects and domestic quarrels, ¹ might not easily quell. The lofty tone of the Hebrew embassy, too, had begotten a personal enmity and thirst for vengeance. Simultaneously with granting the order to permit the passage of the fortress, couriers were sent to the commander to promise obedience to it to the messengers of Moses, but break faith. Instructions were also transmitted to the military commanders in northern Egypt to organize a strong force, in readiness to move so soon as the Hebrews were away from Goshen, in a compact body, apart from the other inhabitants of the province. The plan for the campaign against them is now clear. It was to bring them into the Shur passage, where they would have the fortress in front, the great wall on the left and the Jam Suph on the right. In this position the Pharaoh might well say of the children of Israel; "They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in."

¹ Brugsch 620, et seq.

The distance from Kantarah to Lake Balah is now two and a half miles; but, from the remarkable effect of the flying sands in altering the surface of that country, as described by Mr. Petrie,¹ the Shur passage must have been much narrower, and the Jam Suph much broader than Lake Balah, which represents it, is now.

The passage may have been some ten miles long, and have averaged one and a half miles in width.

Here Moses found himself on the 18th Nisan entrapped. The great numbers of the freedmen were here an embarrassment, as they brought up the aggregate of souls to some 300,000, and might have proved fatal but for the wise precaution of dividing them among the tribes. Encumbered with women and children, herds and flocks, in so small a space, each tribe separate, an attack in the rear, by a veteran army with cavalry and chariots of war, would be resistless.

Escape was impossible. The Pharaoh would glut his vengeance and greed, and any survivors would be sent to the Theban quarries. Moses saw all this in the closed gates before him. His energy and promptness averted the catastrophe. A few days' delay at Rameses, or at Succoth, or here, in vain efforts to move the commander of the stronghold, and the Jewish nation would have been destroyed in its germ, and the moral and religious history of the world changed. He lost not a moment in sending orders to the tribal leaders to face about, retrace their steps and in reverse order hasten from the snare. Whither?

When a strong current enters a long, narrow sheet of water, at right angles, with an outlet at only one of its extremities, its action is to clear the channel in the direction of the outlet and produce an eddy in the other. This was so where

¹ Tell Nebesbeh, 4, 5.

the Necho canal poured its waters into the Jam Suph near Pithom. Towards Suez was the channel, on the other side the eddy, strong in proportion as the rise and fall of the Nile increased or diminished the flow. All stationary eddies produce shoals by their deposits, and a shoal was here formed, which, in the lapse of the ages, became the eight miles of desert now between lakes Timsah and Balah. As the current at the Bitter lakes, according to Strabo, so here the eddy, deposited Nile soil, seeds and roots; and where it impinged upon the shore it created marshes overgrown with reeds and rushes. When the shoal had risen so as to impede navigation, a hamlet grew up on its northern edge with a landing place for fishermen and for the forwarding of supplies across the water to Etham. Allowing for the difference in breadth between the Jam Suph and the present lakes, the hamlet, we apprehend, was nearly due north of Pithom and about eight miles distant. In process of time it became large enough to be called "Pi" a town or city. By Fūrst's lexicon, the Coptic "archi roth" is "reedy marshes." Pi-hachiroth, therefore, is "town of the reedy marshes," the place to which Moses now ordered the forced march back from the Shur passage. Near it were Migdol and Baal-zephon, which have usually been taken for names of places or towns. On the maps purporting to give the route of the exodus, from Sebastian Munster's 1598, to Hutchinson's in the Palestine Exploration Fund report, April, 1888, Pi-hachiroth, Migdol and Baal-zephon skip from place to place like knights on a chessboard; on some, near, on others, far from each other. "Mgdl" in the singular or plural, occurs frequently in the Hebrew text from Genesis to Zachariah, and always, except twice in Jeremiah, means a watch or signal tower, or a tower of defence. At Pi-hachiroth, the headquarters of the encampment was between

Migdol and the sea. It is marvelous that to none of the commentators it ever occurred to insert the omitted Hebrew definite article, a single letter, before the word, and read "between *the* Migdol and the sea." Stranger has been the persistency of biblical scholars in following Josephus, who makes Baal-zephon a town or place, notwithstanding that both the Palestine and Jerusalem targums repeatedly speak of it as an idol. Graetz finally settled the question, closing his short argument thus: "Dümichen is of opinion that the Egyptians said Tep for Typhon and represented him by a hippopotamus. Near Pi-hachiroth (i. e. Heroopolis) then, there stood an image of Typhon-Set, and the Israelites were ordered to encamp before this image.... Plutarch informs us (de Iside et Osiride 50): In Hermopolis they show an image of Typhon, a hippopotamus, on which stands a hawk fighting with a snake. By the hippopotamus, Typhon is represented."

Hermopolis is certainly an error for Heroopolis, as Bunsen must have perceived, for he writes: In Heroopolis, according to Plutarch, was to be seen an image of Typhon, a hippopotamus, etc. Typhon belonged to the desert; he symbolizes the destructive power of aridity. For this reason the image of Typhon would be out of place at Hermopolis, for both cities of that name were in fertile districts, but not at Heroopolis, which lay near the border of the desert.¹

There is no record nor tradition of any town but Pi-hachiroth on the caravan road from Pithom to the Shur passage. Here, then, caravans would halt and make their offerings to propitiate the god of the desert, whose idol, shrine and priests had their fitting place near the road outside the

¹ Geschichte der Juden I, 885.

city. It is suggestive that Numb. XXXIII. 7, reads: "Turn again unto Pi-hachiroth which is before Baal-zephon," which implies, as the Hebrews were then to move south, that the idol was beyond the town towards Pithom.

The custom of erecting watch and signal towers at a considerable distance from cities, allusions to which are found in the Old Testament, prevailed down to modern times, and such structures still standing or in ruins, may be seen in southern Europe and the Orient. As Pi-hachiroth was in a low, flat country, with no neighboring height to afford a distant view, there were, probably, at least two such towers (Migdols), one toward the Shur and another toward Pithom.

The paraphrase in Ex. XIV. 1-9 of the ancient record, evidently gives a special significance to Baal-zephon. The targums and divers Jewish commentators, ancient and modern, have so understood it and expatiated accordingly upon it; but in the original record, we apprehend, it was only introduced to identify the migdol, as the one, between which and the sea, headquarters came by being established "over against the idol." As this stood south of Pi-hachiroth, the center of the camp was also opposite the shoal—a matter of importance as it proved.

It may be objected here, that this determination of the site of Pi-hachiroth places it upon the highest land through which the Suez canal passes. The answer is: No, not upon, but under it. The shoal that gave birth to the town was the first and, for centuries, the only one that rose above the surface. For a long period it must have been covered with Nile soil and vegetation. Catching the flying sands, it rose rapidly in height and breadth, and now, three thousand years of constant growth have converted it into the eight miles of sand hills which rise between lakes Timsah

and Balah. It is the low line of sods thrown out of the farmer's ditch, that forms the nucleus of the one great winter snow bank in the level meadow.

Pithom has been discovered and identified; somewhere north of it, buried in the sandhills, will yet be found the ruins of Pi-hachiroth, and, perhaps, the great idol, to attest the accuracy of the record. "Thus everything illustrates God's word and nothing is permitted to darken it; only God must be suffered to choose his own time."

Assuming the order to "turn again" to have been issued in the evening of the 18th, we must suppose that, under the necessity of haste, the return march began very early on the morning of the 19th by moonlight. When one reflects how many thousands of Egyptians—the idle, the curious, the anxious, the indignant—must have passed through the gates of the great wall to witness the vast procession on its way from Succoth to Etham, it is easy to fancy the amazement caused in the Delta this morning by news of the return movement. What was, what could be its object? The curious multitudes that hastened out saw that no invasion of the Delta was intended, and that there were no disorder and confusion indicating panic. They saw the military forces in reverse order, the rear of yesterday the van of to-day, marching steadily and rapidly down the road to Pithom.

As Pi-hachiroth was to be the center of the first halting place, the van, to reach its position four or five miles beyond, had about fifteen miles to march; the rear, to its position three or four miles short of the town, and the columns between, retaining their relative distances from each other, about the same. The pitching of tents and the forming of a regular encampment were out of the question, and the non-combatants found refuge in Pi-hachiroth, which was deserted by its terror-stricken inhabitants on the approach of the

Hebrew army. They had, therefore, but ten or twelve miles to make. The progress of the herds and flocks was necessarily slow, to avoid being overdriven, and their way was along the irregular shore, now, like the Bitter lakes, bordered by the Nile plants, some of which certainly afforded them suitable food. There was, however, no risk, being protected by a small military guard, unless a strong Egyptian army should suddenly appear.

The forced march of all, except the herdsmen and shepherds with their charges, could be easily accomplished on the 19th, and the situation on the morning of the 20th be this: the tribal armies were so stationed as to form a cordon in a large semi-circle, from a point on the shore three or four miles north of Pi-hachiroth, to another point upon it on the south, rather farther from the town. In this quarter the cordon was strengthened by the detachment sent for the seizure of boats and vessels. The cordon was not so much for defence against an Egyptian army as to conceal all movements behind it from prying eyes. Pi-hachiroth was occupied by the non-combatants. The wagons were not unladen nor the packs of the beasts of burden disturbed; and, after the issue of the day's rations, the supplies were again made ready for transportation. The herds and flocks were slowly coming in and halting along the shore, those of each tribe in a separate body. The troops were resting on their arms and recovering from the fatigue of their forced march; for an immediate advance to the port and canal had been and still was prevented, and the project of seizing the craft there, for the moment, frustrated by a heavy northeast gale—so Graetz, not east, as in the English version—which during the night had come sweeping down the Mediterranean and before which no boat could live.

To increase the perplexities and anxieties of the Hebrew

leaders almost to the point of despair, tidings were brought of an approaching Egyptian army that had halted for the night, probably at the deserted dwellings in Goshen.

"The children of Israel... were sore afraid... And Moses said unto the people: Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you to-day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more forever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace."

In the story of this salvation, as told in Ex. XIV., its writer remains true to his principle of ignoring tribes and princes, and of making Moses and Aaron mere passive instruments of Jahveh, but all history teaches the lesson that God helps them who help themselves, and never works by miracle when the purpose in view is readily accomplished by what is well known in modern experience, and called providential interposition. The truth is simply this: Levanters do not blow themselves out in an hour or two; and thousands of Hebrews knew from observation and experience, that this one, though it thwarted one plan of escape, would probably render another feasible. They perceived in it two excellent reasons for encouragement and hope.

I. The effect of strong winds in raising and lowering the surface of large bodies of water, the great American lakes for instance, is a matter of common observation. The heavy east-northeast wind, known as the bora, frequently lowers the waters of the Gulf of Trieste very perceptibly, notwithstanding the pressure of the broad Adriatic beyond, and southeasterly storms, continued two or three days, so raise the northern Adriatic that the writer has seen at Trieste, the lower streets flooded, and at Venice, boats plying in the square of St. Mark. Such a storm, sweeping down the shallow Jam Suph and the long, narrow Gulf of Suez

beyond, must drive the waters before it, and certainly, if favored by the ebb-tide in the Red Sea, so lower them as to lay the well-known shoal bare and drain its sands. Doubtless, many then present had seen this in other years. This was the one excellent ground of hope if supplemented by the other, namely, the probability that the Egyptian army would be delayed a day in its present position.

II. When the sun rose the watchmen on the migdols reported the western horizon obscured by heavy clouds.¹ This, to men who had passed their lives in Goshen, was no mystery, and was the second ground for hope. They knew that no army would move so long as these clouds rested there, except under pressing necessity, but the Egyptian commander would feel no such pressure; he would reason that the Hebrews were securely entrapped between the sea and the great canal; that escape was out of the question, and, therefore, a day's delay of no importance. To understand why the clouded horizon was so great an encouragement to the Hebrew leaders, take a map of Egypt and draw a line southwest—the course of the wind—from the southern point of that great congeries of lagoons and marshes known as Lake Menzeleh. Such a line passes between Pi-hachiroth and any position which the enemy can be supposed to have occupied. The cold Mediterranean gale, crossing the lake, condensed its immense evaporation and bore it onward in huge masses of fog to the Egyptian encampment; but, coming to the Hebrews over the desert, brought no obscurity. American history affords a striking parallel. After the defeat upon Long Island, August 27th, 1776, Washington was compelled to withdraw his army to save it from destruction. Owing to a severe northwest storm, little progress was made during the first and second days. and the British army ad-

¹ Ex. xiv. 19, et seq.

vanced, making preparations for a general assault upon the American lines. Had the storm continued, or the 30th been a clear day, retreat would have been impossible.

"But about eleven o'clock (evening of the 29th), the wind died away, and soon after sprang up a southwest wind which rendered the sailboats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city (New York) direct, easy and expeditious. Providence further interposed in favor of the retreating army by sending a thick fog about two o'clock in the morning (of the 30th), which hung over Long Island, while on the New York side it was clear." The reason of this was, that the southwest wind came over the sea to Long Island, but to New York over the land, bringing only showers. Washington would not leave the island until Mifflin, with his covering party, left the lines at about six o'clock. The enemy were so nigh that they were heard at work with their pickaxes and shovels. The fog and wind continued to favor the retreat till the whole army, 9,000 in number, with all the field artillery, such heavy ordnance as was of most value, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses, carts, etc., were safe over.¹

So long as the fog covered Goshen, there was no fear of the Egyptian commander advancing, for he no more knew that the Hebrews in sunshine were making ready to escape across a shoal, than Gen. Howe knew that Washington in sunshine was saving his army in boats; and, as the wind prevented boats from leaving Pithom, the people there could obtain no knowledge of what was passing within the cordon and send it by couriers to the Egyptian commander to hasten his forward movement.

By its long-continued enlargement of the reedy marshes,

¹ Gordon's American Revolution, 1st Ed. ii. 314-15.

the eddy had largely reduced the breadth of the Jam Suph at this point; and, judging from the action of currents on the sands of the eastern coast of Italy, the shoal was curved; its concave side and steepest declivity being on its southern face, which the eddy washed. On the other side the declivity was very slight, as along the Italian coast south of Ancona, and a lowering of the water a few feet would so expose and drain the shoal as to leave a practicable track a mile in width. The distance from shore to shore was probably some six miles. One sees, on a moment's reflection, that a current approaching from the south, such as the returning waters seeking their level after the storm, entering the concavity of the shoal, would be deflected on each side to the point of greatest depression and there rush across with great force. The draining of so huge a mass of sand to the point of rendering it passable required time. Moses had, therefore, the day before him in which to make the dispositions for a march, to which a slight confusion might prove fatal. The greatest care and deliberation were indispensable in framing his instructions, in seeing that they were thoroughly understood, and in providing for their rigid enforcement; for it was no small matter to move so vast a multitude with its immense trains, in the night, over so narrow and extended a road from which there was no turning to the right nor the left. One source of embarrassment to the great commander has not been mentioned. As in the American civil war, crowds of suddenly freed slaves and their families followed the victorious armies of the North in their marches through the rebel states, so now public and domestic slaves of divers races, utterly unprepared for the journeyings before them, beyond the few clothes and "their dough before it was leavened.... upon their shoulders," followed the Hebrews. They were the "mixed multitude" of the English version,

the Gesindel (rabble) of Philippon, the Mischvolk (mixed folk) of Graetz, the source of constant trouble afterwards until they disappear from the record. The bondage of the Ruthenu from the time of Thutmes I. gave rise to the tradition of four centuries of Hebrew slavery; the doings of, and dealings with, this mixed multitude are the sole basis of much that is related in Exodus and Numbers to the discredit of the "chosen people."

These people may have brought the news of an approaching Egyptian army; at all events, it was both humanity and good policy to admit them within the cordon as they continued to come, and detain them. They might bring information of, they were prevented from conveying it to, the enemy. They were, of course, separated from the camp proper by an inner cordon.

Both fancy and common sense picture the proceedings of that momentous day thus: so soon as escape by the shoal became probable, provisions for twenty-four hours were distributed to all ranks and classes, and then everything was packed and was ready for transportation. The herdsmen of the tribes next brought their animals into separate positions as near as possible to the shoal, and received the strictest orders as to their succession when commanded to advance, which was as soon as a considerable surface was laid bare, and thenceforward they followed the retreating waters. They led the advance to avoid making confusion later, to test the footing and mark out the safe track. Then the non-combatants were called from Pi-hachiroth and posted with the wagons and beasts of burden, also by tribes, all in readiness to start at a moment's notice, and in pre-determined order.

The possible rate of progress within so narrow limits, in connection with the mention of the next morning watch,

¹ Ex. xiv. 2, 4.

points to an hour or two past noon, when the herdsmen began to press forward upon the sands, and to near or quite sunset, when the word came that the point of deepest depression was passed by them and the whole track across practicable. Then, in the darkness, for the moon did not rise until midnight and torches would betray the movement, the thirteen divisions, eleven tribes and two half tribes, of the non-combatants, with small detachments of troops to enforce order, began their march. As they left their positions, bodies of troops from the cordon, beginning at its northern extremity, took their places, leaving upon the lines only a force sufficient to act as a screen. Though the storm was over, and it was now calm, the movement upon the smooth, compact sands was too noiseless to be heard at a distance; hence, not until the lines were deserted and the remaining forces were in rapid march to join the main body, was the truth suspected.

It cannot be supposed that the Egyptian commander had neglected to send forward horsemen to watch the Hebrews; but they, all the day long, had observed only that the troops of the cordon were resting upon their arms from the fatigues of the preceding day and night. They had naught to report. They may have been surprised at the inaction of their commander, for how could they, strangers, know that his army was buried in the fog?

The Pithom scouts now remembered to have seen or heard that the shoal under extraordinary circumstances had been laid bare and passable, and saw that this must have occurred again. The fleetest riders hastened to Goshen to bear the tidings, happily too late. The distance was some fifteen miles. Though the fog was past and the moon bright, five hours at least elapsed before chariots and horsemen could reach the shore. Meantime, even the mixed multitude in the rear had passed the point of deepest depression and

was safe. The wind had gone down, and at that point the returning waters were rapidly changing the shoal into a quicksand. There is a tradition that a not uncommon change in the weather occurred, namely; after a short period of calm, a heavy south wind came sweeping up the Gulf of Suez and the Jam Suph, bringing thick clouds surcharged with lightning and hail and torrents of rain, and driving the rising flood furiously onward in the now impenetrable darkness.

If the lowest part of the shoal was near the centre, it was three miles from the shore, and the bare sands afforded ample space, three square miles, for an army of chariots and cavalry much larger than this can be supposed to have been. In the morning watch, before day-break of the 21st Nisan, the Egyptians reached the shore and saw the broad track of the Hebrews before them, dividing the waters. They rushed upon it like the whirlwind. On a sudden their career was checked. The front rank plunged into the quicksand; there was no halting, no turning aside, rank was heaped upon rank; the quicksand was spreading in all directions; the storm burst upon them; the moon was hidden; the returning waters lashed into surges by the tempest overwhelmed them. The scene as disclosed by the fitful flashes of lightning was awful. In the ancient poet's description of it, this much is surely but simple fact; "The sea covered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters. . . . The earth (the sands) swallowed them."

It was thus that Moses, in that memorable week, led the children of Israel, followed by a mixed multitude, out from the land of Egypt, by their armies, with a high hand triumphant.

CHAPTER VII.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.

THE REGION OF THE SO-CALLED WANDERINGS.

The itinerary in Numb. XXXIII. professes to be a complete and correct register, in their proper order, of the stations or encampments of the Hebrews from Rameses to Jordan, the stations, of course, being named from the position of Moses' headquarters, precisely as in our time when noting the movements of large armies, the common formula is: Wellington, Bonaparte, Grant or Sherman marched from A to B; from B to C, etc., the advance of the commander represents that of the whole force extending far and wide in all directions.

With one exception,¹ all writers upon, and all cartographers of, the exodus have expressly or tacitly assumed this itinerary to be too defective to admit of vindication, and reject it as a historic, trustworthy document. They go farther and utterly ignore certain clear and positive statements in Exodus and Numbers, which can be shown to correspond perfectly and be worthy of credence, viz: the series of dates given. These are the 15th of Nisan, first month of the year, departure from Rameses; 15th Zif, second month, arrival at Sin—the 1st according to Philippon, 3d Allioli makes it—third month of Sivan, arrival at Horeb-Sinai; 14th Nisan, in the second year, the passover kept at Horeb; and 20th of the next month, Zif, departure thence. There is not a map of the Hebrew route, from Sebastian Munster's to those which have just come from the press

¹ Article in the N. Y. Church Review, April, 1886, by the present writer.

(1891), that, unless a preposterous rate of progress be assumed, can be made to accord with these dates; for as the months were lunar, there were but twenty-nine or thirty days from Rameses to Sin, and fourteen or sixteen thence to Horeb.

What can the actual rate of progress have been? The campaigns of the great generals just named show that the infantry of a well-appointed army, with its trains, can move in urgent cases, for a limited time, on good roads, twenty miles a day. In the American civil war, Gen. Mower, with a corps of cavalry, made 300 miles in eighteen days, about eleven and a half miles a day; but his men were disabled and his teams broken down. Palmer and Drake, mounted on camels, riding eight to ten hours a day and halting over one Sunday, left the coast opposite Suez November 12th, and arrived at the Catherine Convent on Jebel Musa on the 21st. But the Hebrews were neither a well-appointed army, nor a small company of camel-mounted explorers; they were impeded like the followers of their ancestor Jacob. "My Lord knoweth," said the patriarch to his brother, "that the children are tender; the flocks and herds with me suckle their young, and if they overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die."

Sir Richard Burton, who certainly knew whereof he spake if any man could, discussing this question in conversation, expressed his opinion in very positive terms and sanctioned this statement of it: "In view of the roughness and inequalities of the way, its ascents and descents and the inevitable deviations from a direct line, an actual progress of headquarters six statute miles in twenty-four hours, is a large estimate." The progress here meant is like that of a vessel computed by dead reckoning. The ship, beating to windward, tacking hither and thither, may make two hundred

miles by the log, and yet not an eighth or tenth of that distance on its course. It is also to be noted, that once out of Egypt and safe from pursuit, the march could not be continuous day after day, but halts must be made for the recuperation of man and beast wherever wadies and oases afforded water and herbage.

Measure now by the scales given on the maps, the distance from Rameses to either of the traditional Sinais. The result is, that not one of them makes the distance less than 190, most of them not less than 250 miles. But map measurements exclude all the turnings and windings, all ascents and descents, and, in this case, the final rugged, circuitous rise of several thousand feet from the shore of the Gulf of Suez. On a perfectly level, air-line road, four and a half miles a day every day, Sundays not excepted, covers, in forty-four days, 198 miles; now, before any one seriously contends, that the 190 miles of the shortest routes given may still have been accomplished in the time granted by the dates, over the road as described by Robinson, Lepsius, Ebers, Palmer and others, let him consider, that all the events related in Ex. XVI.-XVIII. occurred before reaching Sinai.

One of these events is the visit of Jethro to Moses in Rephidim. All the maps place Midian east of the Gulf of Akabah. From either of the traditional Sinais to the head of that gulf, the map-line distance is ninety miles; the road line is at least a third longer, or 120 miles.

How far beyond the head of the gulf Jethro had established himself, we are nowhere informed. If in Captain Burton's Midian, it was thirty miles or more.

"Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, the priest of Midian; and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, *even* to Horeb."

Truly, a fearless, industrious, enterprising shepherd was he, who led his flock around by Ezion-geber and through the mountain passes described by Palmer, 150 miles to the Mountain of Elohim! Was there no good pasturage nearer? Or was water so plenty and herbage so rich on those mountain heights, as to reward such a journey to the neglect of the intervening vales and wadies?

"When Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, *and* the Lord had brought Israel out of Egypt," etc.

How did he hear this, so far away, there in Midian? Did Moses on arriving at Wady Gharandel, the now accepted Elim, send camel-mounted messengers with the information? By Palmer's map the distance from this Elim to Midian—air line to Ezion-geber 120 miles plus one-third, 40 miles, for road measurement, plus 30 miles thence to Midian—is 190 miles.

At Rephidim, "Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses, into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God. And he said unto Moses: I, thy father-in-law Jethro, am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her."

He was an aged man; a wealthy sheik; had 150 miles to travel; time was required to prepare for such a journey to be made in comfort, and in a certain pomp and state that should do honor to his son-in-law in the eyes of the Hebrew princes; and as he gave them a grand feast he must have taken the animals with him. Thus the messengers are made to travel 190 miles, the aged Sheik 150, and yet he joins Moses some days before the removal of headquarters to Horeb-Sinai!

There is, then, an irreconcilable antagonism not only

between the recorded dates and the traditional Sinai, but also between them and the Midian of our maps. As there is no note nor statement upon the position of either, from Genesis to Malachi, the reader must decide upon other grounds between them and the dates. He must choose between explicit records in the Pentateuch and the mere opinions of differing explorers and commentators on two of the thousand and one disputed points in ancient geography. This chapter is intended to aid him in forming his judgment. The great landmarks, mountains, valleys, plains, water-courses, of the vast limestone formation south of Judea, extending nearly to the so-called Sinaitic mountain ranges, remain essentially unchanged from the age of the exodus, and present the common characteristics of that formation—truncated hills, perpendicular cliffs, caves, deep gorges (cañons). Somewhere near the line where the great table land ends and looks down upon the desert Et Tih, was Kadesh-barnea; but its position, even on recent maps, varies nearly a degree of longitude. From considerations drawn from the itinerary, it was in about lat. $30^{\circ} 30'$, long. $34^{\circ} 25'$, that is, upon the very doubtful assumption of its having been a town or city. This, confirmed by Palmer, is now held to be established. Kadesh and Ezion-geber are the only two stations of the itinerary from v. 8, to v. 35, given upon the maps, even the newest, except, perhaps, Mt. Hor, still the subject of dispute, which are not inconsistent with that document as a whole and with the dates. If these be authentic, the Marahs, Elims, Sins, Rephidims, Sinais of the maps are impossible.

The key to the biblical topography of this region is the *midbar Paran*. Paran is "district abounding in caves"—the Wilderness of Paran, the cave pasture or grazing land. By late maps, the southern road from Jerusalem, about twenty

miles from the city, passes Ziph, and some six miles farther Maon, both on the eastern side of the valley through which it leads. To the grazing lands of these towns David and his men fled from Saul. Here they were safe, for behind them were the savage wilds of Jeshimon, with their many caves for refuge in case of need. "The wilderness of Maon in the plain, south of Jeshimon," of I. Sam. XXIII. 24, is identified by ib. XXV. 1, as a part of the wilderness of Paran. Bending more southwesterly, the road reaches and traverses the Judeans' Negeb, south country, Habakkuk's Taiman. This was the great table land before mentioned. At the point where the road emerges from its valleys and wadies, are heights, the Mount of the Amalekites, Mount of the Kenites, Mount of the Amorites, and one which, to distant observers looking north, was very conspicuous. From its name, which, when applied as an adjective to animals, means rough, shaggy, bristly, it was probably at the time of the exodus covered with forests and uninhabited. This was the Mt. Seir of Deut. XXXIII. 2, and I. Ch. IV. 42. It must not be confounded with the Seir range in Edom, nor with the Mt. Seir on the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. XV. 10). It is very important that this group of heights be placed beyond doubt.

The D. compilers, in Ch. I. 7, make the mount of the Amorites and "the places nigh thereunto," the objective point of the first march from Horeb. In v. 19, "by the way of the mountain of the Amorites" is nonsense; the Vienna Bible makes sense of it by translating "to the mountain," which the English R. V. follows.

The march ended at Kadesh-barnea, and Moses is made to say: Ye are come to the mountain of the Amorites (v. 20). In I. Sam. XV., Saul found the cities of the Amalekites and Kenites near neighbors, and smote the former, who fled by

the Kadesh-Shur road. A considerable number of them escaped and afterwards established themselves on Mt. Seir. Some years later they were strong enough to make a raid through the Negeb and "smite" David's town of Ziklag.¹ They were finally destroyed in the time of Hezekiah by an expedition of Simeonites, whose tribal possession was near. Other evidence to the point in question will appear later. Passing these heights, the road enters the pastures of Zin. The name signifies a low lying, level plain, like the bottom of a drained lake, which this probably was, and, to this day, according to Palmer, it is a rich grazing land. By the itinerary (v. 36), it was a part of Kadesh, and by Numb. XIII. 26, and other passages, Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran.

Turn to the expedition of Chedorlaomer in Gen. XIV. He smote the Horites—Chori, cave-dwellers, the Midian Troglodytes of Josephus—in their Mt. Seir unto El Paran, which is by the wilderness (of Paran?). Is there not a hint here that the desert Et Tih was then considered a part of Edom? The Septuagint renders El (Heb. Ail) the Terebinth; the Vulgate, Campestria; Targum Onkelos, plains; Targum Palestine, valley; Fürst, Ail Paran, the Terebinth grove of Paran. Why the English versions in v. 7, reads "and they returned," is inexplicable. It renders the route followed by Chedorlaomer incomprehensible, though perfectly clear in other translations.²

From Edom the invader crossed Et Tih to a landmark familiar to all caravans of the Kadesh-Shur road, in or near to the "Cave pasture lands." Thence, turning north, he "came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the

¹I. Sam. xxx.

²Luther, Philippon, Allioli, the Vienna Bible.

country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar."

That is, after overrunning the territory of the Amalekites he moved northeasterly by the caravan road to the Dead Sea, plundering the Amorites on his way. Kadesh was, therefore, a district of grazing land¹ including En Mishpat and Zin, with the possessions of the Amalekites and Amorites on its northern border.

The Wilderness of Paran, then, was a long, narrow strip of valley lands suited to pasturage, bordered east and west by Judean hills and mountains, thence, cutting through the Negeb and continuing onward, into the desert Et Tih, taking in the Kadesh district. That the *midbar* Paran *was* that desert cannot be maintained. Abraham, "very rich in cattle," dwelt in it between Kadesh and Shur; there also dwelt Ishmael, and his descendants from Havilah to Shur."²

Note the significance of the names Kadesh and En Mishpat. In that neighborhood, caravan routes from Beersheba, Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and Edom, converged into the Shur road, which, not very far south of Kadesh, sent off a branch to Ezion-geber. Here in the Kadesh district, the caravans of drivers and, doubtless, occasionally hostile peoples, going and coming, must often have met, and quarrels have been frequent. Kadesh signifies holy, sacred, consecrated. Fürst suggests that Barnea may be synonymous with an Arabic word for green or blooming plains. Kadesh-barnea may, therefore, be sacred plains. En or Ain-mishpat is Springs of Judgment. We suppose that long before the age of Abraham, this district had been made kadesh (sacred), by general consent, where no violence was allowed, and that all quarrels arising there were adjusted at the

¹ "Wilderness of Kadesh," p. 3, xxix. 8.

² Gen. xx. 1, xxi. 21; xx. 18.

springs of judgment. If this conjecture be well founded, and, considering the custom in those ages to erect altars to all sorts of gods upon mountains, it would be strange, indeed, if there was not in the vicinity, a lofty height known as Hor Elohim, mountain of the gods, an appellation five times given to Horeb-Sinai, it being but once called mount of Jahveh. We may perhaps yet find one. The theophany at Horeb is pictured by three Hebrew poets, who fancy themselves at a distance facing the mountain, looking north and beholding the approach of the Deity.

I. Deut. XXXIII. 2, where an error is to be corrected. In the original are the words "m r b b th kdsh." The greatest living Hebraist, Graetz, says, they give no sense at all. The septuagint extorts a sort of sense by translating them "muriassi kades;" the vulgate accepts this and reads, "sanctorum millia;" and the English version, in its "ten thousands of saints" or holy ones. But this forced rendering introduces an element into the picture, of which there is no hint in Exodus, and it destroys the parallelism of the stanza, which alone is fatal to it. The error is simply one of transcription; correct the first of the two words to "m r i b th" and we have the Meribah Kadesh of the third verse preceding.

This substitution of i for b removes all three objections:

"Jahveh came from Sinai
And rose radiant to them ' from Seir,
He shined forth from Mount Paran,
And came from Meribah Kadesh."

II. Judges, v. 4, 5. Here Graetz and the Vienna Bible give the picture far more vividly than the English version, and make it correspond better to the preceding.

¹ The children of Israel.

"Jahveh, as thou movedst from Seir,
 As thou marchedst hitherward in ¹ the fields of Edom,
 Then trembled the earth,
 The mountains melted before Jahveh,
 This Sinai before Jahveh, the God of Israel."

N. B.—*This*, not that, nor yon, Sinai.

The name Edom has led to the inference that Seir here is the mountain range so called, the Mt. Seir of the Negeb hard by Zin being overlooked. Edom may possibly be an error of transcription, though hardly so. The poem, no doubt, was composed at a time, or it conceives this scene at a time, when Edom held Et Tih and the Kadesh district. In the citation now to be made, Kadesh is called a city; but the Hebrew word means also a camp or place of encampment, and Fürst cites one of his examples of such use of it from this verse. In Numb. XX. 16, the last clause reads, "in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy (Edom's) borders" (English version); or, "At the end of thy territory" (Graetz); or, "on the boundary of thy territory" (Vienna Bible).

If this does not imply that Edom held Kadesh at that time, it proves that its territory extended to it, and, by poetic license, its fields or plains may be brought into the picture.

III. Hab. III. 3, 7.

"God came from Taiman ²
 The Holy One from Mt. Paran.

.....
 I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction;
 The curtains of the Land of Midian did tremble."

On reading these three passages together, a very striking fact arrests attention: the association of Horeb-Sinai with the Negeb, Mt. Seir, Kadesh and Mt. Paran, or, rather, the

¹ Or, from. ² Synonym for the south country, the Negeb.

Mountain of Paran; and, it flashes upon the mind, that the wildest imagination could never have thus associated them if Horeb was a peak of the great triangle of mountains, a hundred and fifty miles away south, and, therefore, far below the horizon and invisible. To one who has amused himself with tracing the parallelism in the Hebrew poetry of the Bible, imperfectly as it is retained in the translations, the question follows: Are not Sinai and Mt. Paran in the first identical, as God and the Holy One in the third? ¹

Though Philippon does not emend the *m r b b h* of the first citation in his Hebrew text, he ends his comments upon the verse with, "if one might conjecture we would read Meribah-Kadesh." Fürst says the change would make better sense; Graetz does not hesitate to so emend it. The two words are, however, not the full name; it being not "strife at Kadesh" but "the waters of strife at Kadesh." ²

Moses, at Rephidim, supplied water from the rock in Horeb, and called the name of the place Massah and Meribah. Afterwards he supplied it again from the rock when encamped at Kadesh, and this is the water of Meribah (Ex. XVII. 7, and Numb. XX. 13). Horeb, Kadesh, and Rephidim were, therefore, in close contiguity, or rather, Rephidim was included in the district of Kadesh and adjoined the wilderness of Sinai. These citations and discussions are in vain, if, in the long, narrow wilderness of Paran, there is no lofty height which may justly be described as The Mountain of Paran. Graetz affirms there is. In his history of the

¹ "It is still my conviction that the true Mount Sinai will be found in Jebel Araif, or some such unimportant height to the north of the modern Hajj-road from Suez to Akabah." In R. F. Burton, 1001 Nights, vol. ii., 1885, note, p. 242.

² Numb. xxvii. 13, 24. Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ps. lxxxi. 7, cvi. 32. Ezek. xlvii. 19.

Jews, published before the exploration of Et Tih, he was compelled to accept the common opinion that Horeb was a peak in the so-called Sinaitic peninsula; but, on the publication of Palmer's "Desert of the Exodus," he saw at once, what Palmer strangely overlooked, that the Jebel Araif of that explorer's map met all the conditions *sine qua non* of the true Sinai. His conclusive argument, the main points of which are used in this chapter, is printed in his *Monatsschrift* for August, 1878.

Palmer justly remarks that Horeb-Sinai, excepting two meagre notices, is always alluded to in the Bible as though it stood alone in the midst of a desert plain. In his second journey, when crossing Et Tih from the south, "conspicuous amongst the peaks of this plateau rose the cone of Jebel Araif, resembling, as its name implies, the crest or arched outline of a camel's hump. Approaching it, the journey was over a level and perfectly uninteresting plain; it rises far above all the surrounding heights." Choreb (Horeb) signifies desolate, solitary. Jebel Araif on Palmer's map stands alone. Sinai is craggy, jagged, pinacled. Jebel Araif "consists of a series of jagged peaks of hard limestone." It is about 2,000 feet high, and Palmer was one and a half hours in reaching the top, from which, as it rises far above all the neighboring heights, the character and features of the surrounding country could be easily observed. Conversely, it was a conspicuous object in all directions.

What are the objections to this identification of Jebel Araif as the true Mount Sinai, besides traditions that cannot be traced beyond the second and third centuries of our era? Elijah's journey? The story is told in the Masoretic text, which was wrought out long after the monks' traditions had gained general credence, and which misses the point of the miraculous food. This food was supplied him by an angel,

not to strengthen him for the journey to, but for his stay upon, the mountain, that he, like Moses, might tarry there forty days and forty nights, and neither eat bread nor drink water.

The position of Mt. Elohim, the mount of the gods—it is but once named Mount of Jahveh—is never stated in the Hebrew Bible. The pertinence of this as an objection passeth our understanding. It is really one and a strong one against a Sinai far off in the great triangle of mountains between the gulfs, with no caravan route passing near it, but is frivolous as to one so closely associated with Ziph, Maon, Zin, Kadesh and Rephidim, not one of which has its position defined. In I. Sam. XXVII. 8, the B. compilers note that the Geshurites, Gezrites and Amalekites “were of old the inhabitants of the land” on the Kadesh-Shur route; but in v. 10, the well-known localities Negeb Judah, Negeb Jerahmeel and Negeb of the Kenites required no note and have none. What call was there for a topographical note upon the position of a lofty, solitary height, in plain view from the Negeb of the Kenites and most parts of the district of Kadesh?

“But it was never a place of Jewish pilgrimage.” What is the proof of this?

We read that Elijah in the time of Ahab went thither. But grant this objection; was any other Sinai a place of pilgrimage, and, if so, before monkish pretensions had gained credence? Turn to Judges II.; with the extinction of the generation of Joshua, Jahveh worship was partially abandoned, and did not again become the prevailing religion in Palestine until Solomon’s reign, when, the temple being built, Jahveh “made his dwelling place in Zion.” If an inference may be drawn from the psalms and prophets, there

never was a place of Jewish pilgrimage until Hezekiah made one of the temple.

Sixty years ago the lack of maps showing the ancient positions and extent of countries whose names are still in use, was a cause of endless confusion. For instance: What could Paul mean by "*Agar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia*"? There were no popular books from which we could learn that in Paul's time, as Strabo writes, when one voyaged up the Nile from Heliopolis, on the left hand was Arabia, and that the name then included all the territory south of the Negeb, and the Delta to the Nile. So, too, Midian even now seems to be a like source of trouble. In the story of Joseph, Ishmaelites are Midianites; Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness of Paran and his descendants along the Havilah-Shur road. Fürst cites from Edrisi of the twelfth century, and Graetz, from Antonius Martyr, that the Midianites had seats on the Gulf of Suez.

When Joab was destroying all the males of Edom, the prince "Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt; Hadad *being* yet a little child. And they arose out of Midian and came to Paran; and they took men with them out of Paran and they came to Egypt."¹

If this was the Midian of the maps, it must be explained, why, after raising a caravan adequate to the journey around the head of the Gulf of Akabah into the direct road to Egypt, they should turn from their way towards their enemies to get men at Paran? It was not. It was that part of Ancient Arabia which included Et Tih. The Edomite fugitives crossed the Arabah and that desert directly to Paran.

Important discoveries like that of Palmer are sure to

¹ I. Kings xi. 17, et seq.

Pal. IV. 24

throw light into unexpected quarters. His Jebel Araif, identified as Horeb-Sinai by Graetz, and this identification of Et Tih as a part of ancient Midian, make the few notices of the relations between Moses and Jethro reasonable and consistent with each other. Jethro was head of a family that had separated from the Kenites; was a nomadic sheik like Abraham, Esau, Jacob, and, like them, possessed herds and flocks and had a large number of servants and retainers. Moses, escaping from Egypt by the Shur-Havilah road, fell in with him at Kadesh, entered his service, as Jacob into Laban's, and, like Jacob, received his employer's daughter to wife. Jethro at that time had his abode in the vales and pasture lands near to, and northeast of, Araif, as is to be inferred from the notice that, by order of Moses, the flocks were driven to the backside, that is, the west, of the *midbar*, hard by the Mount of Elohim, doubtless into the Wady Mayim of Palmer's map, and the adjacent pastures. His position gave Jethro a market in the caravans passing Kadesh, and Moses a safe refuge and easy communication with Goshen.

Could Jethro, the Kenite and Midianite, have also had a third appellation from the district in which he lived, as we speak of Benjamin Franklin, the Bostonian by birth, the Pennsylvanian, the Philadelphian? If this can be proved, or even made probable, the fact will be of considerable interest and importance in a later chapter.

We read that Jahveh sold Israel into the hand of Cushanrishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (Mesopotamia).¹ Graetz proves² that this was only a subjugation of the tribes Judah and Simeon, which, by a king of Mesopotamia, as a glance at the map shows, is a geographical absurdity. He

¹ Jud. iii. 8, 10.

² Gesh. i. 412-13.

cites eight instances where the Masoretic text writes Aram for Edom or the reverse, and shows that here the oppressor was a king of Edom. Naharaim is also an error for the Chorim of Gen. XIV. 6.

One needs only to know the Hebrew alphabet to see how easily these errors of transcription may occur, the mistaken letters being as like each other as the *f* and long *s* in English books of the last century. The invader was king of Edom and of the Horites. His name was Cushan-rishathaim. Cushan was, therefore, an Edomite name. As to rishathaim, Fürst rejects all the old explanations, and, citing Abulfeda, holds it to be the same as an Arabic word signifying "Head of two peoples," which supports Graetz's emendation.

In the song of Deborah, Edom is made to include Kadesh and, of course, the parts adjacent, which must have been the case so long as Cushan held his conquest. This, be it noted, was in Deborah's time.

Habakkuk, picturing the effects of the quakings of Mt. Paran, writes:

"I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction,
The curtains of the land of Midian trembled."

Notwithstanding the learned commentaries upon this verse, we can see nothing more in it than the poet's fancy of beholding the tents in and near Cushan brought to grief, and the tent curtains in more distant Midian shaken. He was a Judean, a contemporary of Jeremiah, and could hardly mistake the topography of a section of country on great caravan routes not a hundred miles from Jerusalem. The inference is, that Cushan was also an Edomite name for a district; that, namely, which lay along the ridge of Jebel Araif; and it follows that Jethro may have also been called a Cushanite.

It may be said that the argument here and there is

somewhat of the weakest. Granted; but what if it be found that, by this topography, the dates are, without exception, not only positive assertions of the Hebrew text, but altogether reasonable, and that the itinerary needs but two or three corrections, easily made and almost self-evident? In that case, we apprehend, even the weakest links in the chain will become too strong to be easily broken.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE JAM SUPH TO HOREB.

THE COVENANT.

On the morning of 21st Nisan, the Hebrews, their allies and the mixed multitude, stood safe on the eastern shore of the Jam Suph, weary, wayworn, drenched by the furious storm of the night, awed by the mighty catastrophe of the Egyptian army, but rejoicing in their deliverance. Moses had assured them of a rescue by Jahveh, and the allies now saw a miracle in their salvation. When, therefore, Miriam and the Hebrew women raised the chorus of praise and thanksgiving, they shouted with one voice, Jahveh shall be our God henceforth and forever.

That day and the next must be allowed for rest, the preparation for, and ordering of, the march across the desert to an affluent of El Arish, the river of Egypt. For, regardless of the concurrent opinions of Jewish and Christian doctors of divinity, Graetz only excepted, it is here assumed that the Horeb-Sinai to which Moses now led his people was the Jebel Araif of Palmer's map; and that the route taken was the Shur-Kadesh road. This, it will be remem-

bered, made a great southerly curve to avoid the spurs of the Negeb ranges, passing them in about 30° , the latitude of Suez, the Hebrews being now some fifty miles north of that point.

The notes of the movement are extremely concise, obscure and, as exploration has hitherto been directed to another quarter for its scenes, have little benefit from the maps. The difficulties that beset us arise from the fact that we have before us a migrating people three or four hundred thousand in number, who can advance but six or seven miles a day, and yet must be at a certain distant place, at a certain date positively stated. It is surely not too much to ask of the reader that he grant Moses sufficient prudence to take the common sense precaution of sending mounted men forward to examine and report upon suitable spots for encampment, with special reference to an adequate supply of water; and that upon information thus obtained, the direction of the march was occasionally changed, and the distance traversed increased. On the morning of 23d Nisan, taking water for two or three days in skins, Moses pushed out into the desert Etham-Shur for the Kadesh road, at a point where it was supposed a farther supply would be obtained. Upon learning that this was a mistake, he altered his course to the south, and, on the evening of the 25th, encamped at a place which has not been satisfactorily identified, but perhaps may be. For, if the soil of the shore opposite Pithom was a deep sand, the strong current of the canal and the eddy must have excavated a bay or inlet, extending out toward the Kadesh road, the waters of which were, of course, fresh. Its form and extent depended upon the rocky formation underlying the surface, on which point there is no information accessible to the writer. The effect of the storms of the preceding week was, of course, to flood

the Jam Suph with the sea water of the Gulf of Suez, and in an inlet like the one suggested, especially if irregular in form, it would require more time than had yet elapsed to expel it. Upon their arrival at its head, therefore, the people found its waters still brackish. Hence the name given to this encampment was Marah, bitterness.

The next station was Elim, where they counted twelve springs and seventy *elim* (date palms). This must have been a well-known oasis on the Kadesh road lying at some distance southeast of the present Lake Timsah, but, that after so many centuries any signs remain to identify it, is doubtful.

The itinerary (v. 10) names a station omitted in Exodus. The supply of water at Elim, it is supposed, proved too limited to meet the demand for a journey across the desert to an affluent of El Arish, and another deviation from the road was made to a point where the Jam Suph was within reach, where the water-skins were filled, and hence the name, Jam Suph, of the encampment.

The Bitter Lakes still remain to show how great an easterly bend that sheet of water here made, but not how far out towards the Kadesh road at that time, when the encroachments of the sands of the desert were counteracted by the current.

It is to be observed that the itinerary notes encampments only, not bivouacs. Hence we read (v. 2): They removed from the Jam Suph and encamped in the pastures of Sin (the Cliffs), to which they came on the 15th Zif,¹ that is, on the twenty-ninth day from Rameses. This long march was, therefore, in a sense continuous, nowhere interrupted by lack of water, nor by encampments. In fact, the season was

Numbers
33. 10

¹ Ex. xvi. 1.

now so far advanced that it was altogether preferable for both man and beast to move only morning and evening, with a few hours' rest in the mid-day heat and at night. If, now, it be found that the distance traversed corresponds with the dates, there can remain no doubt that the cliffs which gave name to this encampment were those 400 feet high, of the Wady Garaiyeh on Palmer's map.

Allowing four days for the marches to Elim and the Jam Suph, with a day there to fill the water-skins, thirteen days (3d—15th Zif) remain thence to Sin. By Palmer's maps the distance from the Bitter Lakes to Wady Garaiyeh is eighty to ninety miles. Morning and evening marches of three or four miles each, that is, a progress of six or seven miles a day, are amply sufficient to cover it. If those maps are substantially correct, the Wady El Arish was reached in about lat. $30^{\circ} 10'$, long. $33^{\circ} 35'$. Thence, moving up the Wady, the course was southeasterly some twenty-five miles to a point where it turned northerly, nearly at a right angle, towards the broad Wady esh Sheraif.

From this angle to the entrance into Wady Garaiyeh, the distance is only twenty miles, but a part of the way, as described by Palmer, must have been toilsome for the Hebrews. At its middle point, Ras el Fahdi, Palmer saw, some thirty miles away, Jebel Araif towering high above the plateau. It is self-evident, that, upon arriving at the Wady, El Arish, the necessity of the tribes moving in a compact body and in haste ceased, and that they extended miles along the narrow strip of pasture. There was but one mode of advancing that could prevent quarrels between the herdsmen of the tribes, or by which justice in the division of herbage and water could be done. This was, that the tribe in the rear, having exhausted the spot, passed on to the front and remained on the space there assigned to it by the

proper authorities, until its turn came again to move on. Thus, also, the difficulties of passing the Ras and Wady el Fahdi were largely obviated.

If it be not also self-evident, later notices, after the compilers cease to ignore the princes, show that they and the heads of the great houses, the assembly, or senate, with Moses' headquarters and the tent of meeting, formed a separate camp. Their presence was not required with their tribes, while it was necessary that they should at all times be at hand for consultation with the commander-in-chief. This camp gave the names of the stations in the itinerary. Amply supplied with wagons and beasts of burden, and, apart from the slow moving multitude, this camp easily made those distances of ten or twelve miles between the stations, which later appear in the Arabah. The encampment at the cliffs was probably in advance of the main body. The freedmen, possessing no herds nor flocks, must have moved apart from the Hebrews proper, and the mixed multitude still followed in the rear.

The troubles with the last named class are first brought to notice at this place. The B. compilers of course have it, that "the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron," but in Numb. XI. 4, it is "the mixed multitude among them fell a lusting." Perhaps, however, the discontent may have spread to some degree among the freedmen—the future "children of Israel." They were dissatisfied with the food which the charity of the Hebrews supplied to them. They saw bread and flesh still eaten in the Hebrew camps and demanded them of Moses. Their cry for bread was met by teaching them to use the gum of the tamarisk *mannifera* which "they found in such quantities, and nourished themselves with so long, as to be convinced it was a miracle. For only on this penin-

sula trickles from the lofty tamarisk trees, which grow in great numbers here in the valleys and on the spurs of the Sinaitic mountains, drops of honey-sweetness, which harden in the morning cold to round grains, etc." So Graetz, who refers to the "most instructive article "Der Sinai Gebel" by Carl Ritter in his *Erdkunde* I. 665, et seq. That all classes of the emigrants, from prince to fugitive slave, lived upon manna year after year is but an inference of zeal not according to knowledge, and of a boundless credulity which takes manifest glosses of superstitious, miracle-loving transcribers, as statements of fact.¹

The longing "for the fleshpots of Egypt" was also in a manner gratified. On many maps of these regions, one finds at the mouth of El Arish on the coast of the Mediterranean, the Egyptian penal settlement Rhinocolaura. Diodorus relates that the criminals there were nearly famished by the cruel parsimony of the government, and, under the pressure of necessity, cut down the reeds that grew thereabout and made nets of them, which they spread out over many stadia, to catch the quails that flew thither in vast numbers over the sea, and thus, by birdcatching, they obtained a sufficient supply of food. These birds were the *tatrao alchata*, says Philippson, and were about as large as the American wild pigeon. It was the season of their northern migration, and these wadies were their halting places in crossing to the Mediterranean. The story is perfectly credible to any one who has read descriptions of pigeon roosts and flights in the United States sixty years since. Probably the last great pigeon flight in eastern Massachusetts was in 1831 or 1832, of which the late Alexander Bigelow of Worcester, Mass., wrote, that it continued with occasional breaks three days. It crossed the valley of

¹See Note x.

the Charles at South Natick, Mrs. Stowe's Old Town, from the south, and the rise of Carver hill on the north shore brought the birds so near the earth that every fowling piece in the vicinity made havoc; Mr. Bigelow, then a boy, shooting his quota. Wilson, the ornithologist, calculated the length of a column of pigeons that passed over him, at 240 miles, and estimated the number of the birds at 2,000,000,000.

A difficult and delicate problem now presented itself to the Hebrew leaders for solution. They were only twenty miles from Jebel Araif (Horeb), near which it was intended to remain several months. The problem was, how to place the tribes in the neighboring valleys so that each should have an equitable share of water and pasture; so separate from the others as to avoid strife between their herdsmen and dependents, yet so situated as to be a mutual defence, and at all times to be under the observation of Moses and the senate.

This problem, too, had to be solved in advance, that each tribe on its arrival should at once pass to its station. By the itinerary, two encampments not named in Exodus, followed that at the Cliffs, Dophkah (cattle driving) and Alush. From divers circumstances noted in the exodus narrative, these stations must have been upon the western acclivity of Wady Sheraif, which afforded a view of the opposite district, and from which excursions could be easily made to reconnoitre the wadies, under the guidance of Moses, whose long sojourn in that vicinity had made him thoroughly acquainted with them.

This business being settled, the camp was moved from Alush directly southeast towards and near the ridge of Araif. The name given to this encampment was Rephidim, the plateaus, that is, the high lying plains in contradistinction, we apprehend, to the low lying plain of Zin a few miles to the

north. The topography at this point is not so clearly described by Palmer as to indicate the particular plateau occupied; but all the conditions are met and the error cannot be great if it be assumed, that they were those from which the hills Burgali and Sharaif rise on his map.

Judging from this map, the position was central to the tribal camps, which must have been visible from the hills named, and was not more than eight to ten miles from the great southern bluff of Araif.

The view presented in the next following pages, of the series of events and transactions recorded in Ex. XVII. and the succeeding chapters, is so utterly at variance with any ever before taken, and so likely to prove highly offensive, that the writer feels justified in again calling attention to propositions discussed in the Appendix, and, if not proved, rendered at least sufficiently probable to warrant their being made the basis of this investigation.

I. Exodus and Leviticus form part of a great roll, compiled from original sources at Babylon, with the purpose and object of preventing the restoration of the Davidian monarchy.

II. They form the Book of the Law which was read publicly in all the the towns and villages of the new commonwealth established by Nehemiah, and were specially designed for the lower, uneducated classes; for this reason the tribal organization and the princes are suppressed throughout, and every occurrence and event, so far as possible, represented as a miracle.

III. From the first chapter of Numbers onward, the great roll, as a plea against monarchy, was addressed rather to the higher and educated classes, and the princes and heads of houses are occasionally granted due prominence.

Compare on these two points Ex. XL. Lev. VIII. and Numb. VII.

IV. There was no possible reason for forging the genealogies. They were preserved in family or public records, were thoroughly tested by Ezra and Nehemiah, and, beyond all question, authentic.

V. From them is derived a chronology which, taken in connection with the monstrous injustice done to the princes in Exodus and Leviticus, renders the miracle-colored stories in those books totally untrustworthy, except as to the simple underlying facts.

So soon as these propositions are proved false, the writer is ready to abandon all opposition to the indulgence of the wildest fancies of the marvelous and miraculous, and admit that the sublime Creator and upholder of the universe is the weak, passionate, vacillating being of Exodus, who could be bent from, or argued out of, his purposes by Moses, especially when, as in Ex. XXXII. 7-14, he pointed his remonstrances with, What will Mrs. Grundy say? or words to that effect.

To proceed with our narrative: on the 15th Zif, headquarters were pitched at the Cliffs, on the 1st Sivan, fourteen days later, at Sinai.

Divested of their miraculous coloring, and restricted to the mixed multitude, there is nothing in the notices of the manna and quails to imply any delay on their account, or any interruption in the steady advance of the tribes to their destinations in the wadies about the Rephidim. Whether, after leaving the Jam Suph, the division of the freedmen remained attached to the tribes or moved in a body apart, does not appear nor is it important; it is enough to know, from necessary inference drawn from what follows, that they were now segregated and encamped apart on Palmer's level

and perfectly uninteresting plain south of Araif. They were the later children of Israel that encamped before the mount, the house of Jacob being in the wadies beyond.¹ They soon were distressed for want of water and did "chide with Moses." From the names given to the spot, Massah (Temptation) and Meribah (Strife), a conflict appears to have occurred between them and some of the tribes for possession of springs, and, being defeated, their elders crossed over to Rephidim and laid their case before Moses. They seem also to have accused him of not having kept his promise to place them on an equality with the subordinate class of the Hebrews. He restored peace by supplying water from a subterranean reservoir in the limestone rocks of Araif, and, probably, by the assurance that, in a few days at farthest, the great act of their adoption as "seed of Abraham" should be consummated.

"Then came Amalek and fought with Israel in Rephidim." The biblical maps still continue to spread the word, Amalekites, in large letters over a space of from one to two degrees of latitude and longitude, upon no other apparent grounds than a false syllogism.

The Amalekites had their seat in the Negeb;

They attacked the Hebrews near the traditional Sinai, one hundred and fifty miles distant;

They were, therefore, a powerful people, roving over and commanding the deserts Et Tih and Shur.

The minor being false, so is the conclusion.

True, there was a Mount of the Amalekites² in the later territory of Ephraim, but its people were too insignificant to be named in the Joshua lists of the conquered and the unsubdued, and they, moreover, were separated from those now

¹ Ex. xix. 2, 3, 9.

² Judges xii. 15.

in question by the Negeb and all the country afterwards occupied by Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan.

The D. compilers were contemporaries of those Simeonites who, in the reign of Hezekiah, destroyed the remnant of the Amalekites on the Mt. Seir of the Negeb, and very naturally justified that act. But they give us no hint that Amalek was ever a strong people, and even confound the fight near Rephidim with the attack by the king of Arad long years afterwards, upon the rear of an encampment in the Arabah.¹

The facts seem to be these: the movements of so vast a body as was approaching by the Shur road could not be concealed from the scouts and spies of the neighboring communities. Learning thus that the tribes were establishing themselves with their herds and flocks in the wadies, unsuspecting and inadequately protected—for was not that district *kadesh*, sacred?—so separated as not readily to afford mutual protection, and not all yet arrived, the Amalekites projected a Rob Roy raid for cattle-lifting, trusting to rapidity of movement and a timely retreat into the Negeb for success. But Moses was not taken by surprise. He received information of the project, perhaps, from his own scouts, perhaps from friendly Kenites, in season to prepare for their coming. Joshua was ordered to move to the front in the night with a body of selected troops. When the Amalekites "on the morrow" rushed upon their expected prey, they found themselves confronted, not by a horde of frightened herdsmen and shepherds, but by an organized army, fighting under the eyes of the great leader and the princes, stationed, we infer, upon the hills Sheraif and Burgali. One is reminded of the great opening contest of the American Revolution, when the British commander-in-chief and his generals

¹ I. Ch. iv. 42-43 and Deut. xxv. 17, et seq.

not employed in the battle, watched the attacks upon Breed's hill in Charlestown from Copp's hill in Boston.

417.8 We apprehend that the picturesque story of the wavering of the contest accordingly as Moses raised or lowered his hands, is but making a marvel of his hastening forward reinforcements. The battle is stated to have continued until sunset, but ended triumphantly for the Hebrews. "Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword." He was then about forty-five years of age, and on this occasion proved those great qualities which made him henceforth the special confidant of Moses and eventually his successor.

This victory was of great and lasting influence for good upon the fortunes of the Israelites. It taught all the neighboring peoples that these Hebrew princes had the power and courage to defend themselves; and, as the policy of Moses was peace with them, in all the following years, until Sihon opposed their advance and lost his kingdom in consequence, there was but one attack upon the Hebrews, and that was most amply avenged. That bitter hatred of the Amalekites, which was visited upon the generations of their descendants until "the remembrance of Amalek was blotted out from under heaven," was aroused, probably, not more by their being "the first of peoples" to show hostility, than for their perfidy in breaking the peace in a district which was *kadesh*.

418 Pending the negotiations with the Pharaoh and the prodigious, harassing labors of preparing for the exodus, Moses had freed his mind from family cares and distractions by sending Zipporah and his two young sons home to her father in Cushan-Midian. Jethro now brought them to Rephidim "unto Moses, into the wilderness where he encamped at the Mount of Elohim." He celebrated the re-

union of Moses and his family by giving a grand feast to him and the princes of this camp—ignored in the text, by calling them the elders of Israel.¹

Next follows the account of the establishment of a judiciary system by which Moses was relieved of incessant labor and annoyance, as by it only intricate and important cases came to him by appeal. The B. and D. compilers relate this with very material variations. The first give the credit of its suggestion to Jethro, detail his argument for it, ignore the princes and date it before the promulgation of the Sinaitic code. The others ignore Jethro, make the chief men of the tribes the principal judges, and date it just before the departure from Horeb in the next year. By the genealogies, the patriarchal power had descended by regular inheritance to the princes, now the heads of the tribes, and this compels a new interpretation of the records in question.

Moses certainly was at the head of the federation for certain general objects and purposes, but in tribal matters the princes were independent. The divisions and subdivisions of the tribes were "families" and "houses" whose chiefs are called Heads. There were, manifestly, grades of authority from the master of a household to the patriarchal power of the prince of the tribe, but even he could not rule arbitrarily. Moses says to Jethro: "I judge between one and another and make them to know the statutes of Elohim and his laws." What statutes and laws? Those of course, which had obtained during four generations in Goshen, which were well-known to all Hebrews and were still in force among them, binding alike prince and servant. It follows, that this new judiciary was for the benefit of the non-Hebrews, and that it was simply the introduction among them of the old system in force in the tribes, with analogous

¹ Ex. xviii.

gradations up to the superior judges, who must have been Levites "learned in the law." We apprehend that here was the germ of the provision, after the conquest, of communities of Levites scattered among the other tribes, and that these were the seats of justice and instruction—the one real bond of union, as conservators of the language, history, traditions and laws of the fathers.

"And Moses let his father-in-law depart; he went his way into his own land" and thenceforth disappears. "His own land," as before shown, was so near, that his visit in no manner impugns the correctness of the dates recorded, and it may be accepted as a fact, that on the first Sivan, the third month of the year, precisely six weeks from the start at Rameses, Moses moved his tent from the camp at Rephidim to the sloping base of the great southern bluff of Araif.

A protracted sojourn here was contemplated. The defeat of the Amalekites, the peace policy of Moses announced to the neighboring peoples, the position, hard by, if not actually within, the *kadesh* district, the superstitions connected with the Mount of Elohim, and, last but not least, a military force of some 60,000 men, were guarantees of security. Turning to Palmer's map, it is easy to see what must have been the general arrangement of the several camps. That of the princes and senate remained upon the Rephidim, the hills Burgali and Sheraif presenting heights which overlooked the grand encampment in all its parts. The wadies Mayin, Sheraif south and west, Jerur and Lussan north and east, all within a circle of five miles radius from the centre of Rephidim, afforded ample space for the tribes and their animals. South of Araif, in the wadies that descended from the plain to the valley of the Cliffs, the freedmen were encamped, but so near the plain that the men could easily be convoked upon it in front of the mountain.

Some small distance below the tent of Moses, a barrier was constructed, to pass which toward the mountain incurred the death penalty ; and we apprehend it was so placed and extended as to prevent, for the present, all intercourse with the Hebrews, the necessity of which was avoided through their being supplied with rations for a limited period. That many of the freedmen had shown themselves unworthy and were now excluded from the camp, and that many of the mixed multitude had deservedly taken their places, may be assumed; in fact, that all the worst elements of the migration were driven to the rear—"to the uttermost parts of the camp," as it is afterwards expressed.

We doubt that any person of ordinary mental caliber can read thoughtfully the nineteenth and following chapters of Exodus, without heartily agreeing with Kittel's remark upon them. "The events at Sinai in respect to their details" says he, p. 212, "are hidden in a deep, almost impenetrable obscurity. There is hardly a point in all the traditions of the Old Testament, the reports of which are so perplexing, entangled and to such a degree confused, as these have become through the efforts of the [original] editors to present this most important section of the national history in a connected, concordant form."

No space need be wasted here in an attempt to weave these reports into such a form, nor in considering the efforts of others to do it; for it is manifest, that if the Hebrews had remained faithful to the worship of El Shaddai, as this essay assumes for the reasons given, the narrative in these chapters imperatively demands a new interpretation. To represent the descendants of the patriarchs as marching to, and long delaying at, Horeb, there to hear announced religious and moral laws already traditional with them and disputed by no one, and to which their extraordinary de-

liverance at the Jam Suph a few weeks before had given new authority and sanctity, as coming from the God who had been their salvation, borders closely upon the absurd. As corollaries from propositions heretofore successively presented and, it is believed, established, the following conclusions appear to the writer indisputable.

I. What is so often termed "the law revealed at Sinai," was in no sense a new revelation there. Most of the commands in the decalogue are found in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri long anterior to Moses, and all were in force in Goshen.

II. The decalogue, therefore, did but announce the terms upon which the non-Hebrews might become by adoption, Seed of Abraham—Children of Israel. It presents these terms in the fewest possible words, that they might be easily taught and remembered.

III. These people were separated from the Hebrews—their Levitic judges and instructors excepted—that the agreement made in Goshen might be ratified by both parties, in a solemn covenant, enacted with forms and ceremonies fitted to make the most lasting impression.

IV. At a conference between Moses and the elders of the freedmen, the latter declared for "their people," all that Jahveh hath spoken we will do.

V. On this assurance, a day was appointed for these people in a body to approve and confirm this declaration or pledge of their elders. Two days were spent in a general purification (even to the washing of their clothes), of the male adults, having first been sanctified by Moses, whatever this may mean. On the morning of the third day they were convoked at the barrier, to pass which was death. At the tent of meeting, Moses' headquarters, assembled the representatives of the Hebrews, who appear to have been Aaron,

Hur, Nadab, Abihu, Joshua and the seventy princes and heads of houses. Whether Elohim spake all these words of the decalogue in a supernatural voice, heard by the thirty to forty thousand persons there assembled, and that, too, from "the top of the mount" two thousand feet high, or, that by some other means these commands or terms were proclaimed, the fact that they were publicly announced and most solemnly accepted on this occasion, we hold to be as well established as any other event recorded in history so ancient; also, that terms of the covenant on the part of the Hebrews were recapitulated publicly and approved.

VI. In accordance with the well-known customs of antiquity, though forms of proceeding differed with different peoples, a final ceremony still remained to be performed. At Sinai, according to the record, it was conducted thus: when the people assembled the next day at the barrier, they saw just beyond it, at the base of the declivity, "under the hill" on which the tent of meeting stood, an altar and twelve pillars. The altar was for sacrifice to their newly accepted deity, Jahveh. The pillars represented the ten tribes and two half tribes, Levi being neutral, as the priestly class representing Jahveh, and because none of the adopted children of Israel were to be apportioned to it.

The ceremonies began with burnt offerings of oxen to Jahveh, being an appeal to him to be a divine witness to the final sanction of the covenant by the two parties to it. The blood of the animals caught in vessels was divided into two parts. The one half was now sprinkled upon the altar, and, though it is not so stated, of course, upon the pillars standing for the tribes. It was the "blood of the testimony" on their part, the most sacred and solemn rite by which a party to a contract could be bound to its due performance. Then followed the reading of the Book of the Covenant, by which

we understand, the terms offered by the Hebrew princes in Goshen, and now renewed (and perhaps extended). The decalogue was probably also again read. This reading, we apprehend, was sentence by sentence, each being repeated by the Levite judges to their divisions of the people, so that every man in the vast concourse had a full knowledge of the contents of the two documents. The free and unqualified acceptance of both was announced by their shouting literally, or in substance: "All that Jahveh hath commanded we will do and be obedient." They were then sprinkled with the other half of the "blood of testimony." Thus the great ceremony ended, and the emancipated Ruthenu were now by adoption, Seed of Abraham, Children of Israel. A grand feast, of course, followed, at which, in token of brotherhood, the princes condescended to meet the seventy elders of the freedmen.¹

Although the propositions to the Ruthenu elders, made by Moses upon his return to Goshen, were in the name of Jahveh Eloi, no formal renunciation of other gods appears to have been made by them. This was provided for in the covenant now made. Elders and people bound themselves:

1. To renounce all other gods and henceforth to acknowledge none but Jahveh *before him*, that is in any land or place where he "had set his name," in other words, where he was the deity worshipped;

2. Never to make or tolerate any material representation of him, of whatever kind or nature;

3. Never to apply the name Jahveh to any other being, divine or human, and thus make it common, as El, Baal and other divine appellations had become, but hold it in veneration as consecrated to the God of the Hebrews;

¹ See Note xi.

4. And to observe faithfully the days set apart for rest and worship of Jahveh, namely, the Jewish Sabbath.

A word upon two other precepts of the Decalogue will suffice.

With all their shortcomings, the superiority of the Hebrews over all other contemporaneous peoples in their respect for women and the family relations, is a fact of common knowledge. "Honor thy father *and* thy mother" was not a precept that need be thundered from Horeb to them or find a place in a contract between them and an inferior people.

Though it is found among the Egyptian moral maxims long before the time of Moses, as Prof. Wiedemann of Bonn writes, it has a natural and, indeed, necessary place in the terms offered the freedmen, as the basis of the sanctity of the family relations which they now had to learn and henceforth honor in practice.

The other of the two precepts, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," supplements the first. According to Graetz, the Hebrew word here employed usually has a specific meaning, but is sometimes used as here in its widest sense. Leviticus XVIII., XIX. and XX. contain the statutes founded upon these precepts, and are a sufficient commentary, perhaps; but there are passages in Herodotus and other ancient writers that prove the pressing necessity for making them a part of the covenant *sine qua non*, with a people degraded and debased by centuries of slavery in impure Egypt. A few of the levitical statutes in those chapters, it is true, belong to a much later period; but most—those against bestiality especially—are Sinaitic, are edicts against unnatural crimes practiced in Egypt.

The D. compilers omit these, except as indicated in a single curse; the B. compilers copy them, perhaps, for their historical interest or to point a moral.¹

¹ See Note xii.

Per contra: the Hebrew princes abolished slavery as to these people, incorporated them with the tribes, granted them all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their retainers and dependents, and reserved only that pre-eminence to which from their birth and position they were entitled. The freedmen were made by adoption Children of Israel. Paul evidently so understood it; it was this adoption under the old covenant, which gives point to his figure of the adoption of Greeks and Romans under the new. These Children of Israel, whose race had been enslaved in Egypt since the time of Thutmes I., were that element of the new nation which gave rise to the tradition of four centuries of *Hebrew* slavery.

Kittel's book¹ is a masterly condensation and review of the learning upon this first period of Hebrew history, and its deductions from his premises cannot well be disputed. Pages 201, et seq., contain the historic substance of the Mosaic history, as he has wrought it out. Joseph may or may not be a historic personage, but:

"Israel, under the lead of the tribe Joseph, moving from its ancient seats near its brother people, Edom, and wandering into Egypt, remained there an indeterminate length of time. It preserved its language, its nomadic habits and its inherited religion—this last, at least, in part. The tenacious clinging of Israel to its national and religious individuality, and an anxiety lest Israel should, at some future time, make common cause with enemies of Egypt, led the Egyptians to an ever increasing oppression of the hitherto unmolested, tolerated strangers. The purpose was, since Israel did not voluntarily join itself to Egypt, to wean it from its nationality by force of a long continued oppression. Israel suffers the bondage to which the Egyptian people had from old become habituated, but which the free nomads felt to

¹ First half volume, to death of Joshua.

be a disgraceful, intolerable burden, but it did not possess the strength and resolution to shake off the yoke. Then arose to Israel a deliverer in Moses."

Kittel refers to some genealogies of Aaron and Moses to prove this oppression of much less than four centuries in duration, though still extending through several generations, but wholly overlooks the fact, that by going farther, and taking all the genealogies into consideration, the supposed oppression disappears entirely. In the matter of dates he leaves his readers sadly in the dark. True, he closes his section upon the patriarchs thus: "Our narrative takes us back to times before the Sesostris of Diodorus, and by so doing, at all events, is made in its principal features probably historical" (p. 173). Again: "The Egyptian notices thus far give only Ramses II. with some degree of certainty as the Pharaoh of the oppression. For the exodus, the passages in Egyptian history admit no nearer determination of the date, than that it was in the interval between Ramses II. and the beginning of the 20th dynasty." But all this is "rather conjecture, than fact determined."

One infers from his pages, that he believes neither in the vast number, nor in the excessively degraded condition of the fugitives, and that he holds the Decalogue and Book of the Covenant to have been a shrewd device of Moses to introduce his religious reformation (*Neubildung*) as a personal contract between Jahveh and the escaped victims of Pharaonic oppression, and thus awaken to new life and vigor a slumbering, traditional faith of their ancestors.

His discussion of "Moses and his religion" (p. 216, et seq.) is in a very high degree learned, instructive and interesting. In previous sections he vigorously opposes Wellhausen; one passage we cite: "The oldest portions of the pentateuchal code — its pith, in fact, as has before

been shown—are the connected sections bearing the names, Decalogue and Book of the Covenant'.... Now, our authorities¹ report that the laws contained in the latter were written down by Moses by order of Jahveh, and that the former were put into his (Moses') hands by Jahveh already written upon two stone tablets. Compare this statement with these chapters, and it certainly is apparent that in the form in which we possess them, neither the one nor the other can be the Mosaic original" (p. 213).

"But criticism must have fair play and be allowed to exclude later additions and amplifications, which also here are perfectly comprehensible. This being done, the original kernel of the one as of the other document must remain. The Mosaic authorship of this is so proved to us as to merit full belief; by the rarity of testimony like this; by the nature and concise lapidary form of both these sets of fundamental laws; and by the proofs before given of the substantial authenticity of the circumstances recorded of their origin" (p. 213).

This holds good as contra the Wellhausen school, and, taken in connection with earlier passages of his volume, is a very strong, we think convincing, argument that the Decalogue, in a simple form, and a Book of the Covenant, were written, official memorials of transactions at Horeb, in the month of the exodus. In so far, Kittel's conclusion is that of this essay, though reached by a different process of reasoning; but that, as he holds, Ex. XXI.-XXIII. are that book, or even contain its "kernel," is, from our point of view, incredible. They in no manner correspond to such a title, nor to the occasion, nor do they apply even to Kittel's great body of fugitives, still wanderers, and with no hope for the present of a fixed habitation.

¹ Ex. xx.-xxiii.

² Ex. xxiv.4, 7, xxxiv. 27.

A few verses near the end of Ch. XXIII. excepted, they are a condensed code of statutes only applicable to a people settled as land owners and possessors of herds, flocks and other property. If they be in fact Mosaic, they can only be so as devised by him later, to be put in force after the conquest of Canaan. That they are stipulations on the part of the Hebrews in a covenant with the Ruthenu is manifestly out of the question. Indeed, if there be anything in the Pentateuch that can be plausibly taken for the Horeb Book of the Covenant, we have been unable to discover it. If it was couched in terms corresponding to the hypothesis of a covenant with Jahveh, both the D. and B. compilers had the strongest reasons for copying it, if still in existence; but, if the covenant was between a wealthy and comparatively enlightened people and another people ignorant, degraded, debased, a conclusion to which we have been led step by step, as much to the surprise of the writer as it can be to the reader, the reasons for suppressing it were equally forcible; for it must have been so written as to upset their hypothesis and to bring the ignored princes at once into prominence.

As it could serve no purpose to erect the customary commemorative pillar or column on the border of the desert, Et Tih, the short, terse sentences of the Ten Words¹ were engraved on two small stone tablets, The Tables of the Testimony, and confided to the care of the tribe of Levi. The stipulations of the princes were engrossed in the roll—the Book of the Covenant—and must also have been entrusted to the Levites. It is stated that in Solomon's time there was nothing in the ark of the covenant save the two tables of stone; but, when Moses "took and put the testimony into

¹ Ex. xxxiv. 28. Deut. iv. 13, x. 4. In the Hebrew, "words" and not "commandments."

the ark,"¹ it can hardly be supposed that he had the injustice to leave out of it the document which bound the more powerful party.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TEMPLE-TENT, PRIESTHOOD AND RITUAL.

If a people may be termed a nation, which had yet to prove its vitality, had still to conquer a territory for its local habitations, and was homogeneous only as belonging originally to the same race, the new Semitic nation was now, in a sense, constituted. It was a federal, aristocratic, theocratic republic. The tribal god, El Shaddai, was now the national deity, Jahveh, an invisible, but the only king and supreme ruler. The hereditary prince of the tribe of Levi was made High Priest—the religious head and political figure-head. For the present, Moses, guided ostensibly by personal instructions from Jahveh, was by general consent dictator, but, after his decease, the chief priest was to receive oracles at Jahveh's shrine and interpret them; power to enforce them he had not.

Improvised altars had sufficed for sacrifices to El Shaddai from Abraham until now; but a national god implied a temple, shrine, consecrated priesthood and ritual, as all ancient history attests. Until a territory should be conquered, of course no temple could be erected; if, however, a substitute for one could be devised, shrine, etc., would follow. If we are to believe the twenty-sixth and subsequent chapters of Exodus, such a substitute was devised and the rest did follow, and the question is raised: Are those

¹Ex. xi. 20.

chapters credible? Not only the innumerable multitudes who take "the Bible or church says so" as a sufficient answer to all objections raised against a literal acceptance of the most glaring contradictions in the Old Testament, but ripe, able, accomplished scholars also say, Yes. Another class, constantly increasing in numbers and influence, answers, No. The one class swallows, the other rejects the entire narrative. The controversy hinges upon a single point. Was a temple-tent constructed at Horeb?

Nork (Korn) in his *Real Wörterbuch* (1845), writes: "The tabernacle is a picture of the fancy, drawn after the model of Solomon's temple; the proofs are given by Vater, De Wette, Hartmann, Bohlen." These are all great names in the biblical criticism of the first half of this century. And now Kittel, representing names equally great in recent criticism, reaches this conclusion: "The minute description of a magnificent tent of the covenant, which was to protect the holy chest (ark), cannot well be historic; less on account of the impossibility of constructing then and there a tent so splendid and artistic, than because, from the notice in Ex. XXXIII. 6, et seq., we obtain a glimpse of the much simpler character of Moses' tent in the wilderness. Exodus also informs us that the tent was constructed from the ornaments of the Israelites and, therefore, was of some splendor; still it was an ordinary tent, not a work artistic and magnificent. Such is the historic fact" (p. 215). In spite of all the arguments from Vater to Kittel, we hold it to be possible, that a temple-tent, being a portable imitation of an Egyptian temple, was constructed, and was itself the model of Solomon's edifice.

If the new nation was a body of two millions or more people, only three months before in abject slavery, who, "pushing forward in the night," had now pushed themselves

into the gorges of the Sinaitic mountains, several thousand feet above the level of the sea, far away from any city or inhabited country, living upon manna, and water from a rock—in that case, the utter impossibility of their constructing the tabernacle described is freely conceded. For, tabulating the materials affirmed to have been used in the tent, its appurtenances, the garments and insignia of the priests, and the articles used in the ritual so soon as the tent was completed, we obtain this list of contributions made to the work by these poverty-stricken fugitives, before, by Moses' orders, "the people were restrained from bringing:"

Stuffs of	Onyxes	Olive oil
Wool blue	Rubies	Bread
" purple	Topazes	Wine
" scarlet	Carbuncles	Myrrh
Goats' hair	Emeralds	Frank-incense
Linen	Sapphires	Cinnamon
Byssus scarlet	Diamonds	Calamus
Ramskins	Ligures	Cassia
Dogfish skins	Amethysts	Incense
Acacia boards and bars	Beryls	Stacte
Gold	Agates	Onycha
Silver	Jasper	Gallanum
Brass		

Turn now to Ex. XII. 34, et seq.

"The people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders. And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses, and borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, jewels of gold and raiment; and Jahveh gave the people favor in sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them. And they spoiled the Egyptians.... They baked unleavened cakes of the dough,.... because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual."

There are certainly many articles in the list above which strike one as queer, whether borrowed or stolen; but, waiving this, how were the lumber, skins, textile fabrics, oil and other bulky, heavy articles conveyed the more than two hundred miles from Goshen to the Jebel Musa? Synods, convocations and general assemblies will, in the future as in the past, find it much easier to condemn Edinburg, Andover and Union professors for offences against creeds and catechisms than to defend the ninth chapter of Hebrews so long as honest biblical criticism is, like the camps of Prophet Amos, a stench in their nostrils.

It is an old opinion that there was a tent of meeting and a temple-tent. Philippson argues strenuously against this; he will have it that there was but one. The R. V. seems to agree with him, and now Kittel assumes it to be the fact. "Solomon and all the congregation with him went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the Congregation of Elohim, which Moses, the servant of Jahveh, had made in the wilderness. But the ark of Elohim had David brought up from Kirjath-jearim," etc.¹ By the genealogical chronology, the heavy curtains of the tabernacle were not then so old as the tapestries after Raphael's cartoons are now, and had never passed out of the care of priests and Levites. The chronicler's statement is perfectly credible; and, if the tent was not constructed at Horeb, then, when, where and by whom is the question, supposing it and the tent of meeting not to be identical. The positive averments of Exodus should be allowed some weight, even if no more than that they raise a presumption of an underlying fact, and they are supported by divers considerations. For instance: after the great four days' covenant ceremonies, the duties of Moses as appellate judge, required a place for their

¹ II. Ch. i. 3, 4.

performance. But his headquarters were within the barrier, which it was death to pass; how, then, was the requirement met? He removed a large tent to a spot outside, at a considerable distance from the freedmen's camp, where causes were heard by him, or, in his absence, by Aaron and Hur. This is all that the high sounding phrases of Ex. XXXIII. 7, mean or can mean. The R. V. substitutes in this verse "tent of meeting" for "tent of the congregation" with reason.

The book of Exodus without the princes is a Hamlet with Hamlet omitted, and its authors have involved themselves in endless confusion. The senate must have had a large tent for its meetings, and this, when spoken of, would be the tent of the (legislative) assembly in the sense in which the word is used in the United States, though the Hebrew word is the same as for Moses' tent of meeting. Whether the word may be so translated is for Hebraists to determine. If so, the use of "tabernacle of testimony" in Numb. I. 50-53, but "tabernacle of the congregation" in II. 2, is explained; for the former, surrounded by Levites and in the center of the grand encampment, could not be approached by a non-Levite under the penalty of death; while the other, near the tents of Aaron and Moses, between them and the tribe of Judah, was the office for public business. In Numb. XXV. 6, 7, the tabernacle of the congregation is manifestly the senate's tent of meeting. But these citations belong to a period after the temple-tent was constructed—if it ever was, which is the point now at issue.

Enough has been said without discussion here, to justify the assumption for the present, that a large tent for the deliberations of the assembly now stood at Rephidim; that a second was pitched at some distance from the freedmen's camp for hearing their causes, and a third was now to be constructed exclusively for the worship of Jahveh. Whether

all the particulars in the account of its construction be historic is another matter.

This account¹ begins with Jahveh's call to Moses to "come up into the mount," orders to Aaron and Hur to act as appellate judges during his absence, and of his departure with his minister, Joshua; and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights. There is no intimation of any business transacted there beyond the delivery to Moses of the stone tablets and a law and commandments already written out by Jahveh, and instructions concerning a temple-tent, ritual, etc.

There are three modes of disposing of this forty days absence of Moses from his headquarters.

I. The whole story of the tabernacle is pure fiction and comment is needless.

II. The story is literally true. This is the orthodox view, upon which a remark or two may be made.

The conceptions of Jahveh in the writings of the poets of the captivity are in singular contrast to those of the B. compilers, their contemporaries.

"Then Jahveh answered Job out of the whirlwind and said.....

'Where wast *thou* when *I* laid the foundations of the earth?

'Declare, if thou hast understanding.

'Who determined the measures thereof, if thou knowest?

'Or who stretched the line upon it?

'Upon what were the foundations thereof sunk?

'Or who laid the corner stone thereof

'When the morning stars sung together

'And all the sons of Elohim shouted for joy?'"

¹ Ex. xxiv. 12, et seq.

In like manner, though less elaborately, omnipotent Jahveh is presented to us repeatedly in Deutero-Isaiah and the exile psalms.

It is revolting to turn from this magnificent poetry to the picture in Exodus of Omniscience and Omnipotence instructing Moses to prepare a habitation for him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, and quibbling upon the details of carpenters', smiths', upholsterers' and other craftsmen's work. One cannot suppress the feeling that Omniscience was engaged in rather small business and was not very clear in its instructions—or was Moses so dull of comprehension, since nearly six weeks were occupied in imparting specifications that hardly fill a dozen pages in an octavo Hebrew Bible. True, they cover everything relating to the tent and the ritual, from the boards, bars, curtains and coverings, the ark, altars, candlestick and table, down to Aaron's linen breeches and a recipe for making a certain sacred perfume "after the art of the apothecary."

When Jahveh calls Moses to the mountain and says, "I will give thee tables of stone and a law and commandments which I have written," one naturally inquires why he did not add "and a plan with specifications for a temple-tent and all that pertains to a ritual?" If Omnipotence had the one already written, why not the other?

At all events, after reading Job, Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms, the six chapters (XXV.-XXX.) of Exodus do not enlarge our conceptions of divine majesty nor render them more vivid.

III. According to the record, which is here rational and, doubtless, trustworthy, the freedmen remained for the present in their separate camp in charge of their Levite magistrates and instructors, and were still forbidden to pass the barrier and approach the mountain. Although adopted,

they were not finally divided among, and incorporated with, the tribes ; but the presence of Moses was no longer needed, and they were left under the guardianship of Aaron and Hur.

The great leader, after the terrible toils, anxieties and responsibilities of the last years, and especially of the last six or eight months, found it now possible to enjoy a period of rest, recreation and tranquillity, with his wife and sons at the princes' camp, Rephidim.

Thither he went with his minister, Joshua. It was rather an amusement than a labor to discuss with the princes and skillful artists, plans for a substitute for a temple, and work out the details of an imposing ceremonial code adapted to their still nomadic condition. Biblical scholars, it is believed, now agree that the priest-code in Leviticus is a final revision of an older one, with such changes and additions as were thought best for the services in the post-exile temple; and the contention between the conservative and destructive schools of criticism is, whether the original dated from Hezekiah, Solomon or Moses. If the views developed, step by step, in this essay, be correct, it dates from Horeb. If so, the last six chapters of Exodus, barring their miraculous, Jahvistic gloss, are substantially an authentic record of the outcome of discussions at Rephidim, during those absences of Moses from his headquarters, which we are told were spent with Jahveh on the mountain.

Leaving it to the reader to judge between these three conflicting views, we turn to Ex. XXXII. It is the story of the golden calf, and, as told, is a serious blow to the structure raised upon the genealogical chronology; for it knows but one camp, one people; the whole mass of fugitives is to be destroyed, and of Moses alone a great nation is to be made. Joshua departed with Moses, and now, after forty

days and nights, returns with him; where he remained during that time is not intimated. As they approach the camp he hears shouting, and thinks there is fighting. Moses perceives it to be singing. Drawing near, they saw the calf, and the people dancing, etc. After Moses has seized the calf, broken it in pieces, burned it, ground it to powder (gold!) and made the people drink it, he called together all who were on Jahveh's side, and all the sons of Levi gathered, put every man his sword by his side, went in and out from gate to gate of the camp, and slew every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor, to the number of about three thousand men. The text which gives these particulars, has before informed us that there were 600,000 fighting men in the camp, detachments of whom had, a few weeks before, bravely met and discomfited Amalek, and yet they now suffered themselves to be cut down by the Levites, so far as appears, without opposition!

On one point Exodus and Deuteronomy vary strikingly. In the first, Jahveh tells Moses of the calf, and there, on the mountain, the prophet remonstrates against the destruction of Israel, and Omnipotence yields to the plea "What will the Egyptians say?" But the D. compilers¹ place the scene after the descent to the camp. Moses is made to say, "And I took the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes. And I fell down before the Lord, as at the first, forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread, nor drink water, because of all your sins which ye sinned."

In another matter the B. compilers contradict themselves. They represent the people as they sacrifice before the calf, saying "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up, out of the land of Egypt," but Aaron's

¹ Deut. ix. 17, 18.

proclamation for the festival, as they record it, was: Tomorrow is a feast to Jahveh. It is also significant that the calf was not erected before the altar and twelve pillars of the covenant, but in the camp with a new altar. It follows, first, that the offence was not against the first commandment of the decalogue, viz: the worship of a false god, but against the second, the worship of Jahveh represented in Apis form; secondly, that the tribes represented by the twelve pillars were not implicated. Enough of comment; read the chapter thoughtfully, and if it be found clear and satisfactory very well; there is simply a wide difference of opinion between the reader and writer.

The facts underlying this chapter were, from our point of view, substantially these:

The last seen of Moses by the freedmen, was when he with Joshua was lost to view in a fog¹ which had gathered about the mountain. To them, he was the immediate representative of Jahveh, beloved, feared, respected, trusted. They were purposely excluded from all knowledge of what passed in the Rephidim camp and, therefore, the protracted absence of him, to whom they owed everything, discouraged, dismayed them, rendered them discontented, and under the weak rule of Aaron they became riotous, and demanded some visible representation of Jahveh to which they looked for the protection which Moses had thus far afforded. Aaron temporized. Yes, perhaps, if you will sacrifice your gold earrings. To his discomfiture, they complied. Moses, only ten miles distant, was informed of all that passed in the freedmen's camp, and decided to allow matters to take their course. Those people must be taught a lesson of obedience to an invisible deity, and that vows voluntarily made are not to be trifled with. Aaron, by the way, was a sculptor, ac-

¹ Ex. xxvi. 15.

according to the B. compilers in v. 4, and equivocated to Moses in v. 24, in making the molten calf a sort of miracle—"I cast it (the gold) into the fire, and there came out this calf." By order of Moses, we apprehend, the gold was sent to him (Moses) wrought by Hebrew artists, the Apis sent back, erected in the camp with its altar and the Jahveh festival appointed. The breach of the second stipulation of the freedmen's covenant was not to be condoned, for the worship of Jahveh in Apis form would lead to that of Apis himself and the other filthy gods of Egypt, and to the practice of all the impurities of that worship. It is unreasonable to suppose that these people generally were implicated. The Levite magistrates and teachers must have exerted a very powerful restraining influence. Besides, where could animals have been obtained for a general feast of so many thousands? They were not owners of herds and flocks, and only by the connivance of the Hebrew leaders could so many have been secured as sufficed for the offerings and feastings of a comparatively small number.

At the preconcerted moment, to the joy of the masses and the consternation of the offenders, Moses with Joshua was seen approaching the camp. His first act was to hold up to view the two stone tablets and to "cast the tables out of his hands and break them beneath the mount."

This would be understood or explained by the Levites as revoking and annulling the covenant just made, as withdrawing all the rights and privileges of adoption. Although it is not doubted that something of the feeble social organization of the slaves was now retained by them as freedmen, still, from the nature of the case, the superior class of Levites, as before stated, supplied the instructors of Hebrew laws and magistrates to enforce them; and the inferior class, the special police of those magistrates. It is,

therefore, a rational and credible statement, that in considerable numbers, at his command, "all the sons of Levi (in this camp) gathered themselves together unto him," armed themselves and fell upon them who after the feast had "risen up to play" and now shouted and sang. That three thousand were put to death, appears to be a characteristic Masoretic exaggeration. At all events, the punishment was effectual, and we hear no more of idolatry on their part. The covenant was renewed, for the stone tablets were replaced by others, but no account of the particulars is on record.

The D. compilers' story of Moses upon his face before Jahveh, forty days and nights, would perhaps be more credible if it was not repeated a few verses later as having also occurred at Kadesh-barnea—the offenders in both cases being the Hebrews.¹ It was probably derived from the same source as the account in Exodus² of a second absence of Moses upon the mountain with Jahveh, which, of course, was not for intercession in the Apis matter, as that was already settled. No doubt the underlying fact here is, that Moses, satisfied with the effect of the condign punishment of the mutinous freedmen, returned to his wife and sons and to his deliberations with the princes upon the temple-tent and ritual.

During several months following we must imagine the freedmen still remaining in their camp under the rule and instruction of Aaron and the Levites, supported by the tribes, and employed by them in such labors as the welfare of the camps required. There was much to be learned to raise them to a level with the under classes of the Hebrews, and to fit them for their final distribution among, and incor-

¹ Deut. ix. 18, 25.

² Ex. xxxiv. 28.

poration with, the several tribes. At the Rephidim camp the construction of the tabernacle was proceeding.

The temple-tent was an imitation of the Egyptian temples so well known to the Hebrews. No one can suppose that those vast edifices were built at random, or that the details were less carefully wrought out by the architects beforehand than those of a cathedral of our time; nor could the tabernacle be constructed at random; hence, we insist that the description of it in Exodus is authentic, being drawn from the ancient records. There is, therefore, no need of copying nor even of condensing it here, although a few points call for remark.

The approach to an Egyptian temple was through a grand fore-court with a row of sphinxes on each side; this being impossible in a movable temple, the walls of which were of "fine twined linen," the great fore-court of the tabernacle (100 cubits by 50) had its curtains embroidered with rows of kherubim.¹ In the Egyptian Holy of Holies was placed the statue of the god; in that of the tabernacle there was nothing but the ark containing the testimony of the covenant, on which was placed the seat or throne of mercy, which the invisible deity was supposed to occupy when imparting oracles. At each end of this mercy seat was a kherub. The two faced each other and extended their wings forward, touching in the center. In the Holy of Holies of Solomon's temple were two huge kherubim, ten cubits in height, facing the entrance; for the outer wings extended to the walls, and the inner to the center of the room. Beneath these was placed the ark with the mercy seat, which David had brought to Jerusalem from Gibeah, the existence of which is traced back by credible notices in Samuel, Joshua, and Numbers to Horeb.

¹ Written with K. to distinguish them from the familiar cherub.

The kherubim were huge, fabulous monsters, composite beasts, symbolical of strength, swiftness, keenness of vision, sagacity and wisdom. Ezekiel's beasts were kherubim as he fancied them. Philippon discusses their form at some length, and decides that they were effeminate human figures with wings, having no muscles to move them, and gives an illustration to the "supposed form of the sacred ark," with them standing upon it. Webster's Dictionary repeats it, making the figures kneel. Fürst, Graetz and other principal authorities decide for the composite beast, and justly. The winged human figure was a conception unknown to the Jews until derived from the Persians centuries after Moses; but, if known, it could hardly have been used to replace the sphinxes. The Psalmist surely had no such creature in mind when he wrote, "He rode upon a kherub and did fly." The conception is very grand, of the Almighty, in majestic human form, rushing through space upon one of these huge monsters, as upon the wings of the wind; but, mounted pick-a-pack upon a dictionary cherub, the notion is—well, not exactly sublime.

In the account of the tabernacle and its contents, there is a chain of facts or of fictions, all the links of which depend upon precisely the same authority, and stand or fall together; the tabernacle, the holy of holies, the ark, the stone tablets, the covenant. To reject one is to reject all; then, a step or two farther, and one can consistently occupy the position of Baker Green, viz: the Hebrews of Palestine were descendants of a clan or tribe that migrated north from Sir Richard Burton's Midian, and never was in Egypt.

"And Moses put the altar of burnt offerings at the door of the tabernacle. . . . and offered upon it the burnt offering and the meat offering."¹ The fire then kindled was never to

¹ Ex. xl. 29,

be extinguished so long as the tabernacle remained the seat of worship. "The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar, it shall never go out."¹ As all non-Levites were forbidden to approach the tabernacle on pain of death,² the people were easily convinced that the smoke by day, the fire by night, and its reflection from the tent, when seen from a height, were miraculous evidences of the presence of their God, Jahveh. Thus arose the legend of the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night, so dear to poets from Asaph to Walter Scott. The B. compilers do, indeed, inform us, that already at Succoth, Jahveh "went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light; to go by day and night." It is with no little surprise that we find Jahveh in his cloud, leading the way to Etham, only to be baffled by the closed gates of the fortress, and then giving such minute directions for moving to, and encamping at, Pi-hachiroth, since the fugitives had only to follow him thither.

"By day along the astonished lands
The cloudy pillar glided slow;
By night Arabia's crimsoned sands
Returned the fiery column's glow."

The lands (what lands?) may well have been astonished, if, as Scott believed or imagined, they saw two millions of people following the miraculous pillar, gathering daily for food (at an omer per head) one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of manna, and supplying from their masses six hundred thousand able-bodied men for defence. The reflecting reader is also astonished at the temerity of a wandering band of Amalekites in attacking such vast numbers so led, so fed, and so defended, high up in the mountain passes of the Sinaitic peninsula.

¹ Lev. vi. 12, 13.

² Numb. iii. 10, xviii. 22.

Nor can he understand why Moses, on leaving the traditional Sinai, desired Hobab to go with him as guide; why the ark went a three days' journey "to search out a resting place;" why spies were sent out to report upon Canaan; why Edom and Ammon were petitioned to grant a passage through their territories—why all this, if the children of Israel had but to follow their deity in the cloud?

Read in connection Ex. XL. 34, et seq., Lev. VI. 8-13 and Numb. IX. 15, et seq., and judge whether the word "smoke" may not be substituted for the word "cloud" and make equally good sense. When the smoke rested upon the tabernacle the children of Israel remained in their tents; when the smoke was taken up (ceased?) in the morning then they journeyed; whether by day or night the smoke was taken up they journeyed. The altar for burnt offering, five cubits in length and breadth and three in height, was supplied with rings and staves "to bear it withal."

In Numb. IV. 13, it is ordered that Aaron and his sons, when preparing for a march, "shall take away the ashes from the altar and spread a purple cloth thereon." Is this a contradiction of the command, "the fire shall never go out?" It appears so. But perhaps the words "when in camp" should be supplied; or that sufficient ashes were left to cover and keep alive embers in the "fire pans." At all events, no pillar of smoke could arise from it on a march, and we are compelled to accept the miraculous column of cloud, that so decidedly proved itself useless as a guide, or regard it as a fable, to which the fire and smoke of the altar when in camp gave rise. The statement is positive that, under the direction of Bezaleel and Aholiab, skillful artists and mechanics did execute the work of the tabernacle and all that pertained to it and its ritual, from the frame of the one to the priests' linen breeches of the other. The arguments against this,

from Vater to Kittel, are valid on the fugitive slave and traditional Sinai hypotheses and not to be gainsaid. On these hypotheses the last chapters of Exodus are as absurd as, and far less amusing than, the stories in the Arabian Nights of wonderful structures erected by Yinns. Change the actors to wealthy Hebrew princes and tribes, the scene to the Jebel Araif and advance the date six centuries, and objections lose their force. Thus, the objection that skilled artists and craftsmen could not have been found among the fugitive slaves, has already been obviated. As to the impossibility of finding materials, this objection has been partially met, and may need an additional remark or two. Men preach, write and indulge in the wildest imaginations upon this part of Hebrew history, as though the world suddenly ceased moving because a province of Egypt, the *nomos Arabicus*, had become nearly depopulated by the withdrawal of the children of Israel, and because an Egyptian army had been destroyed.

By our chronology we have learned that these children of Israel were the wealthy descendants of the patriarchs and their followers, who came to Goshen in the reign of Mineptah II., joined by the enslaved Ruthenu, their neighbors, and that the migration was some forty years after the great irruption of the northern hordes which had laid Palestine waste. Labor and business were, of course, disorganized in the *nomos Arabicus*; but the reviving trade between the ports of the Delta and those of Philistia and Phenicia was not interrupted, nor that of the Red Sea. Eastern commerce by caravans via the Dead Sea-Kadesh-Shur route was intercepted by the Hebrews at Jebel Araif for such wares and commodities as they required, and, doubtless, many a merchant met old acquaintances with whom he had transacted business in Pithom and Goshen. The peace policy of Moses being

already demonstrated, the encampment became a market for passing caravans, and especially for breadstuffs for the peoples of Edom and the Negeb. The cattle, herds and flocks of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua cannot be fictions, and they were a basis of trade, supplemented by money¹ when barter failed. The story of Joseph shows true local coloring in the caravan of Ishmaelites who came from Gilead, their camels laden with spicery, balm and myrrh—articles important in the new ritual—and in Midianite merchants ready to turn an honest penny by occasional slave-trading. It is, therefore, not at all probable that the Hebrews had burdened themselves with heavy materials for the construction of their temple-tent, knowing that, if successful in reaching the Kadesh district, there would be no difficulty in obtaining them. From this point to all the Mediterranean coast, from Gaza to Tyre, it is but seventy-five to two hundred miles—distances of no more account to merchant caravans than to small vessels engaged in the coasting trade. No reason whatever appears why the Hebrews should not have sent their own caravans thither to purchase dogfish skins, still an article of trade in the Levant, rich blue, purple and scarlet stuffs and all the other articles needed.

Coming to the subject as we have done, all objections to the record of the construction of the tabernacle disappear, and with them those which have been raised against a Mosaic ritual which, long afterwards, was the basis of the priests' code in Leviticus.

No one denies that the higher priestly offices were filled, from the captivity to the destruction of the temple by Titus, by men who claimed to be descendants of Aaron. Now, unless the very existence of an Aaron be denied, where, by whom, on what occasion, under what circumstances, that

¹ Numb. iii. 48, et seq. Deut. ii. 6.

family was chosen to those offices, objectors must show, if not at Horeb. The record of the fact is not of remote antiquity ; it dates in the fifth generation only before David. That noble representative of one of the noblest American families, Robert C. Winthrop, is but of the sixth generation from John Winthrop the Puritan ; and President Lincoln's great minister to England was only of the fifth generation from Henry Adams who came to Boston in 1640.

Exodus ends with the setting up of the temple-tent. Its dedication, the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and the beginning of the regular Sabbath services are related in Leviticus—the revised code, which is thrust in and breaks the connection between the semi-historic books, Exodus and Numbers—and so related as to avoid any hint of the existence of tribes and princes. Yet, on turning the page from Leviticus to Numbers, the first thing that meets the eye is a list of names, “the renowned of the congregation (assembly?), princes of the tribes of their fathers” regular successors by primogeniture of the patriarchs, holding the positions, influence and power to which their birth entitled them; “the people” of the preceding books sink to their proper level.

On the 1st Nisan, eleven and a half lunar months after the departure from Rameses, the temple-tent being set up and ready for ritualistic services, it, all that pertained to it, Aaron and his sons, were consecrated by Moses. The consecration of the priests was repeated daily for seven days.¹

By Numbers VII. 1, on that same 1st Nisan, the princes of the ten tribes and two half tribes made an offering in common, of twelve oxen and six covered wagons for the transportation of the tent and its heavier appendages, and

¹ Ex. xxix. Lev. 8.

Nashon of Judah led in the special offerings of the tribes, which their princes delivered, one each day for twelve days.

On the 8th, Aaron and his sons being now duly qualified, officiated in the ceremonies of the sin offering and the atonement of the elders of Israel (the senate) and the people generally. They ended in a tragedy.

The law of incense is clear and explicit.¹ The high priest alone was to burn it, and morning and evening, except once a year on the day of atonement, yet after the burnt offering.

"Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took each of them his censer, and put fire therein, and incense thereon, and offered strange fire before Jahveh, which he commanded them not. And there went out fire from Jahveh and devoured them, and they died before Jahveh."

The law could be no respecter of persons. If the freedmen had been so severely punished for worshiping an Apis Jahveh, this breach of the ritual ordinances, on the the first day of their performance, could not be passed over; it was too flagrant to be condoned, and the offenders, though sons of the high priest and nephews of Moses, suffered the penalty of death. The fact is confirmed by the chronicler, by all the Levitic genealogies, and by the succession of Eleazar to the high priesthood. One would like to know something of the nature of this fire from Jahveh, which, from other cases narrated, seems to have been ever ready when needed by Moses, the Levite, and he was not dealing with the other tribes.

Two other breaches of the religious laws are recorded; one in Leviticus, of a man arrested for blaspheming the Name and for cursing; the other, in Numbers, of one who gathered fuel on the Sabbath. The cases, as precedents,

¹ Ex. xxx. 7-10.

were referred to Moses, who condemned the offenders to death by stoning outside the camp. How the great Hebrew families bore themselves in their own camps is nowhere intimated, but Levites, and such of the people as were under the direct control of Moses were taught that the new law must be obeyed.

On the 14th Nisan, the day of the full moon which had lighted the march from Rameses, that event was celebrated, it being the lunar anniversary, but whether "according to all the rites of it, and according to all the ceremonies thereof," as practiced when the B. compilers so stated,¹ is hardly a question. But nothing could be more a matter of course, than that the "evening long to be remembered" should be in some form duly commemorated at Horeb. As the dates from Rameses to Jebel Araif bear all the marks of authenticity, so do these. They give ample time for the construction of the temple-tent, and all thereto pertaining, and correspond perfectly to others that soon meet us.

If the Book of the Law of Joshua I. 8, and the Torah of Amos, Hosea and Micah did not exist, if the existing book of the law has no Mosaic basis, if the temple-tent and its ritual be late inventions of the fancy, it follows that these last pages are filled with fables. If so, with what extraordinary shrewdness and skill did the Babylonian forgers fit lie to lie! What a magnificent audacity is shown in the invention of a temple-tent, the ritual, the setting apart of a tribe and family to perform the rites and, after the conquest, giving them no separate territory, but only dividing among them towns and villages scattered over the possessions of the other tribes. How sagacious is the introduction of the fables of Nadab, Abihu, the blasphemer and the Sabbath breaker, to give color to the forgeries. Above all,

¹ Numb. ix. 3.

after confining their history in Exodus and Leviticus to the people, to the children of Israel, what an astonishing device to lay a foundation for their later annals is that of inventing in Numbers, tribes with patriarchal government of hereditary princes, whose names they repeatedly give; and with what surprising craft they make all their genealogical notices not only in harmony with each other, but with the genealogies collected by their party opponent, the chronicler, more than a century later. If all this be invention and forgery, credit must be given to the B. compilers for a genius in fitting lies to lies, not surpassed by that of the philosophical historians of our time, who have penetrated their mystery and discovered the truth.

If it be an error, the writer prefers to err on the side of common sense, and in all these particulars see a chain of truths fitting truths, each new link adding strength to all.

CHAPTER X.

FROM HOREB TO KADESH.

There is no record of what occurred from the the 14th Nisan to the end of the month. It is believed, however, that this was the time when the freedmen were finally divided, and incorporated in due proportions with the rank and file of the ten tribes and two half tribes¹, Levi receiving none; for on the first of the next month, Iyar (or Zif) the taking of the census was ordered.² Some confusion is caused

¹ Henceforth in this essay, "the tribes" or "twelve tribes" is to be understood as excluding Levi.

² Numb. I. 2.

to the careless reader of the earlier chapters of Numbers, because that is made the seventh which is chronologically the first, and in sense belongs with the account of the dedication of the temple-tent, and is transferred thither in our last chapter.

Besides Moses and Aaron of Levi, the census takers were a man of every tribe, every one head of the house of his fathers. A list of the names is given, and the note is appended, "these were the summoned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of the families of Israel." It seems worth noting that in this list, beginning with Elizur of Reuben, the names and tribes follow in the order of Jacob's sons in Gen. XXXV. 23, et seq., the sons of Leah, the sons of Rachel and the sons of their hand-maids; whereas, in the list of the princes who presented the offerings to the tabernacle, the arrangement differs and corresponds to that of the order of march in Numb. II. The census of the tribes was purely military, they were numbered by "their armies."

"And Moses and Aaron took these men which are expressed by *their* names :

"And they assembled all the congregation together on the first *day* of the second month, and they declared their pedigrees after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their polls."¹

"But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel; as the Lord commanded Moses."²

Observe in this citation the remarkable clause on the pedigrees. It informs us that tribal and family registers had been maintained, and leads to the inference that a pub-

¹ Numb. I. 17, 18.

² Ib. II. 83.

lic registry of the Hebrew genealogies was then and there instituted. In the enumerations of the single tribes immediately following, it is manifest, that by accident or design, a very important clause is omitted.

Thus, for instance, v. 20, should read :

"The children of Reuben, Israel's eldest son, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, by their polls" *together with their servants, dependents and followers*, "every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war." The necessity of this emendation is too plain to need remark. Dropping, as before, the cipher in the large numbers of these chapters, the aggregate of the twelve tribal armies was 60,355, or an average to the tribe of a fraction less than 5,030. It has been before shown that a liberal estimate of the number of Jacob's actual descendants at the end of the reign of Ramses III., able to go forth to war, makes them but 1,579 in number, and that of the descendants of servants and retainers, but 8,000—a military force in round numbers of 9,600. Suppose this to be rather an underestimate, and grant the longest possible interval between the decease of Ramses III. and the exodus, one cannot perceive how the aggregate at Horeb could have been greater than 18,000 to 20,000, or the average to the tribes above 1,500 to 1,700; let us adopt the mean, 1,600. The difference between this average and that obtained from the census, is the average addition to the tribal forces by the incorporation of the freedmen, viz. 5,030—1,600 = 3,430.

The B. compilers have supplied a test of these computations (and with it a proof of that suppression of truth charged against them) in their record of the census of the

tribe of Levi.¹ It differs from that of the other tribes in not being military, but an enumeration of *all* males one month old and upwards. The family Gershon numbered 750, Kohath 860, Merari 620; aggregate 2,230. In the next chapter (IV.) is recorded the number of males aged 30 to 50 inclusive; Gershon 253, Kohath 275, Merari 320; aggregate 858. If the males aged 20 to 29 and 51 to 60 inclusive, can be reasonably estimated and added, the number will be that which a military census would have yielded, and should be near that of the tribal average, *i. e.*, about 1,600. For this computation, the very complete statistics of New England's population, tabulated in the United States census of 1880, provide the means. Taking the ratios thus obtained as normal, 700 in round numbers are to be added, and the males of Levi, 20 years old and upward, able to go forth to war, were 1,558 (858 + 700). The test is crucial and decisive, whether the cipher be dropped or the absurd Masoretic numbers be retained; for the proportions remain the same, though the tens become hundreds and the hundreds thousands.

The Levitic census proves that the average military force on leaving Goshen was increased to the present average of some 5,000, at Jebel Araif, by accessions from the people emancipated by Hebrew swords from Egyptian slavery. There are slight numerical discrepancies in the account of the redemption shekels,² probably errors of transcription; but they are such feeble discords opposed to so many striking concords as in no way to invalidate them. Philippon accounts for them by a previous census.

The time had arrived to make ready for the projected invasion of Canaan. A first and indispensable step was to establish permanent regulations for combining the several camps into one grand encampment, giving each tribe its posi-

¹ Numb. iii.

² Numb. iii. 40, et seq.

tion which, under no circumstances, was to be changed, and to which, at the end of a march, it immediately proceeded. The order adopted was eminently judicious and practical. The temple-tent with its court was the center. It formed a rectangle one hundred cubits by fifty, its longer axis lying east and west, the holy of holies being to the east, so that the high priest, approaching the altar of incense in the morning, faced the rising sun. East of and near the sanctuary was the camp of Moses, Aaron, and the priests. Here, too, as later notices show, were Moses' office tent and the large one for the meetings of the assembly. On the north side pitched the families of Merari—the Mahlites and Mushites, their chief, Zuriel; on the south, the Kohathites, their chief, Elisaphan; and on the west, the Gershonites, their chief, Eliasaph. These four camps with flocks and herds must have occupied a considerable space. Ancient Jewish tradition, perhaps derived from Josh. III. 3, 4, makes the distance from the sanctuary to the inner lines of the tribal camp to have been 2,000 cubits, about 6,000 feet, which gives an area about one and a seventh English miles square—not unreasonable, all things considered.

The tribes were divided into four divisions. That on the east, under the standard of Judah, comprised the descendants of the three younger sons of Leah, with their followers and quotas of the freedmen, viz:

Tribes.	Prince.	Army.	
Judah	Nashon	7,460	} Total 18,640
Issachar	Nethaneel	5,440	
Zebulun	Eliab	5,740	

On the south, standard of Reuben, two sons of Leah, and Gad, son of her handmaid, Zilpah, viz:

Reuben	Elizar	4,650	} 15,145
Simeon	Shelumiel	5,980	
Gad	Eliasaph	4,565	

On the north, standard of Dan, the two sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, and Zilpah's second son, viz:

Dan	Abiezar	6,270	} 15,760
Naphtali	Ahira	5,340	
Asher	Pagiel	4,150	

On the west, Rachel's sons, Joseph, represented by Ephraim and Manasseh, and Benjamin, under the standard of Ephraim.

Ephraim	Elishama	4,050	} 10,810
Manasseh	Gamaliel	3,220	
Benjamin	Ahidan	3,540	

Observe that the names of the commanders here from Numb. II. are, name for name, those in ib. X., as also those of the census takers, "heads of their father's houses," and of those princes of Israel, princes of the tribes, who presented the tribal offerings at the dedication of the sanctuary. Pardon a digression which this fact suggests.

Our friends of the old school, who abide by and defend the literal Masoretic text, utterly deny any ignoring of the tribes and princes in Exodus, on the ground that *as such* they did not yet exist. Their argument is simple and plausible to all who have heard nothing on the other side of the question. It is in substance this:

"All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives..... were three score and ten." Overlooking the plain inference from the clause "which came out of his loins," that other souls not so begotten came with them, they make these seventy the progenitors of all whom Moses led to Sinai. They accept, of course, the four hundred years of oppression, and argue very justly, that at three to the century there were at least thirteen generations of his

descendants from the advent of Jacob to the exodus. By the enumeration in Gen. XLVI., if we assume that four of Benjamin's ten sons were in fact grandsons, as the chronicler states, Jacob's grandsons average four to each son, forty-eight in all. Beginning with these forty-eight, at a quadruple rate of increase, the ninth generation numbers over three millions; at a triple, the eleventh generation, nearly three and a half millions; so that, say our friends, whatever may have been the effect of their hard bondage in checking a normal increase, the two and a half or three millions of Israelites in the thirteenth is altogether reasonable. Now, as slavery is no respecter of persons, the loss of tribal distinctions under the circumstances was inevitable, and this is the reason why neither tribes nor princes appear in Exodus, not because Moses, its author, ignored them. Equally inevitable was the oblivion into which the name and worship of El Shaddai had fallen and the consequent sinking into the filth of Egyptian superstition. But through all the vicissitudes of Egypt's history in those centuries, which could not have left them unscathed, under all the terrible oppression that made their lives bitter, there was one purpose to which the children of Israel remained ever faithful—that of preserving and continuing from generation to generation the evidence of their descent from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in authentic family registers. At Sinai these registers were inspected by Moses and Aaron, the descent of every man, the mixed multitude excepted, proved, his tribe determined, the princes of the several tribes by right of primogeniture ascertained, and the vast multitudes divided accordingly into the eleven tribes and two half tribes.

How simple and satisfactory is this solution of the problem and how unjust to Moses the accusation of ignoring what did not until now exist.

Our friends, in their computation forget, however, that the assumed triple increase during the five centuries is of males only. If they will multiply the forty-eight by three, the product again by three, and so on, they will find in the twelfth generation more than ten millions of males, and in the thirteenth, over thirty and a half millions, some sixteen millions of whom belong to the fighting class, which, by the way, is rather a crushing blow to Robinson and Riddle's notion of six suppressed generations in the early genealogies. Is it said, that this remark is uncandid and disingenuous, considering the horrors of the slavery that expended 120,000 lives on the Necho canal?¹ Willingly granted, provided the statement, "the more they (the Pharaohs) afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew," is conceded to be a falsehood. Admitting, however, that by some hocus pocus there were but six hundred thousand warriors at the exodus, by the ratio of the New England statistics, the aggregate of males in this thirteenth generation was over a million; to them are to be added, fathers and grandfathers, in short, all survivors of the three preceding generations, to find the number whose pedigrees were to be verified for the supposed division into tribes, a million and a half at the least. But, besides these million and a half of names, unless the family registers contained all the progenitors back to the patriarchs, they were worthless. Whoever has a taste for the task can amuse himself by computing the aggregate number of names and the probable extent and bulk of the rolls.

Do not forget that the scene and actors now are the traditional Sinai and the fugitives who escaped with their clothing and kneading troughs on their shoulders, and are now living upon manna and making the life of Moses bitter by their discontent.

¹ Herodotus ii. 158.

The verification of the pedigrees by the data given in Exodus could not have been undertaken until after work on the tabernacle was in progress, at the least, five months after the flight from Goshen. After the census, time must be allowed for the complete organization of the tribes before the dedication of the temple-tent. No more than one hundred and fifty days can be allowed, during which Aaron, Moses and the elders of Israel investigated the pedigrees—1,500,000 in number—10,000 a day. This great and most important labor, Moses, the supposed author of the Pentateuch, neglected to record!

And yet such an impossible census must have been taken if the tribal organization was first introduced at Sinai; for that which is recorded in Numb. I. was not ordered until a full month (1st Iyar) after the princes appear making tribal offerings, and is one of the tribes already organized. It had two objects; first, to learn accurately the military force of each tribe; second, when the intended invasion of Canaan was supposed to be the next step, to determine once for all and put upon record, the tribe to which every blood descendant of Jacob properly belonged. The object of this was to make the tribal division and severance complete. From the genealogies and a few scattered notices bearing on the point, it is manifest that inter-marriage between the tribes, if not strictly forbidden, was thenceforth discouraged, thus preventing the danger of two or more tribes, by alliances of the great families, becoming so united as to destroy the balance of power and endanger the public weal.

Thus, in the interesting case of Zelophehad's daughters,¹ it was decided by Moses that no woman possessing an inheritance should marry out of her tribe.

¹ Numb. xxvii. and xxxvi.

This census, then, was but a scrutiny of the pedigrees of the genuine Hebrews, and an enumeration of the able-bodied men among their old followers and dependents, and among the freedmen severally allotted to them, a task that could easily be accomplished within the time allowed by the record, namely, between the 1st and 20th Iyar, being, of course, executed by a corps of Levitic scribes under the inspection of the princes. It was also indispensable for the execution of the ordinance, "Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house; far off about the tabernacle of the congregation shall they pitch." It assumes or presupposes the tribal organization complete before the census was ordered, and the theory of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and its providential, not to say miraculous, preservation in all its integrity through the ages, only strengthens the view here given by its record of the dates, which are reasonable and perfectly correspond to, and harmonize with, the previous series.

Thus, the four lists of the same princes, incidentally given in connection with their performance of official functions; taken with the dates, lead again to our former conclusions, viz: the princes occupied positions which they had held the year before in Goshen; they are intentionally ignored in Exodus and Leviticus; the new constitution at Horeb, as we have with doubtful propriety termed it, in no way interfered with the patriarchal succession nor impaired the patriarchal power; the confederation of the thirteen tribes had made Moses commander-in-chief for a special purpose; the Hebrew assembly or senate was analogous to the old American congress (1775-89), and gave Moses no more power over princes and tribes than the congress gave Washington over the thirteen colonies and their governors

in the American Revolution. It may be added, by parenthesis, that in both cases the confederation answered its purpose and then miserably failed; thereupon the Hebrew *princes* established a monarchy (very naturally) and the American *people* a federal republic.

We return from the traditional Sinai to Jebel Araif, and resume the narration at the point of departure thence.

All confusion when moving, was avoided by a permanent, well-considered order of march.¹

I. The Judah division of tribes.

II. Aaron and the priests with their families, servants, etc., followed by the Merari and Gershon divisions of the Levites, the men of each between thirty and fifty years, separate and in charge of the disjointed parts of the tabernacle and its enclosure.

III. The Reuben division of tribes.

IV. The Kohath division of Levites under Eleazar, also divided, the men from thirty to fifty years having in charge the ark, altars, etc.

V. The Ephraim division of tribes; and

VI. The Dan division "which was the rearward of all the camps." On the first march from Horeb, the ark is stated to have led the way; but this appears to have been an exception, as also at the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua.

The Levitic records copied into these chapters are so clear that it is easy to picture the scenes on the arrival at, and departure from, the site of an encampment. Such a site, with rather more than a square mile in the center occupied by the Levites, could not have been less than four or five miles square, its extent being greater or less, according to the necessity of crowding the tents together, so that it must

¹ Numb iii, iv. and x.

often have happened in the more difficult country, that the division Dan, at the end of a day's march, had hardly passed the ground occupied by Judah in the morning.

Common sense teaches that when the direction of a march was determined, competent men were sent forward, doubtless mounted on camels, to mark out the most practicable road and seek a suitable place for an encampment, one where ample space and supplies of water and herbage were found. Such common precaution was a necessity, when the movement was not along a well-known caravan*route; for instance, when traversing the "great and terrible wilderness" after leaving Horeb, where probably water had occasionally to be taken along in skins, and nights passed in bivouac.

On reaching the place selected for the encampment and the central point for the tabernacle being fixed, the Judah division advanced to its position on the east and encamped; Aaron and the priests followed and established their camp; meantime the Levitic division Merari, came up and divided; the men from thirty to fifty years old halted at the central point, unloaded their six wagons, set up the frame work of the court and temple-tent, and then joined their families and followers who were pitching their tents on the north side. Next arrived the Gershonites. Their main body pitched their camp on the west, while the chosen men advanced, unloaded their two wagons, completed the work of the court and tabernacle by attaching the curtains and coverings to the frames, and then turned back to their camp. The Reuben division had now reached its position on the south, and between it and the tabernacle, the Kohathites pitched their tents, those of them in charge of the ark, altars, and other appendages of the temple-tent, moving into the enclosure and depositing them in their proper places under the inspection of Eleazar. Upon their retiring to their camp,

Aaron and his sons took the coverings from ark, altars, etc., and made ready for the daily sacrifices. Meantime, the Ephraim division arrived and encamped on the west, and the Dan division on the north. Rapidly as a labor so methodical could be performed by the Levites, it was not one that would be repeated daily at evening and in inverse order each morning. The convenience and often the necessity of passing the night in bivouac removes a principal objection to the itinerary, viz: that the number of stations does not correspond to the distances traversed.

Is all this mere romance? Was there no temple-tent? If so, the romancer had a genius for verisimilitude not surpassed by Bunyan or De Foe. Are not these minutiae, so far as they relate to the tribe of Levi, precisely such as the Levitic scribes would record, their descendants preserve, and the B. compilers (also Levites) copy?

Minute particulars would have for the priestly class just that exaggerated importance which candles and genuflexions have for many of the like classes in our day. Is it the more preposterous to hold that they were facts recorded in the time of Moses, or with the Vater-De Wette school, to take them for fables composed long centuries afterwards.

Although from the first the plan had been to invade Canaan from Kadesh via the Wilderness of Paran, there were cogent reasons for delay in its execution. The tribal armies, with their accessions of freedmen, were yet to be disciplined, made efficient and taught to act in concert as a single body. The rank and file had their duties to learn both in camp and on the march, and the non-combatants had to gain experience in camp life under military conditions. The commanders had still to learn by experience whether, under the new constitution, all was in working order, and that no internal friction would thwart their plans. The

easy, indolent life of the great mass during the long stay at Jebel Araif had to be changed to one of exertion and activity, and common prudence demanded that the change be effected before coming into the presence of an enemy. It was also very probable that an immediate advance to Kadesh and Zin would be met by a confederation of the Negeb peoples, if one had not already been formed, whose lack of numbers was balanced by their possession of the heights that commanded the narrow passes.

By throwing them off their guard by a later sudden and unexpected seizure of Kadesh and Zin, and then instantly pushing forward half of the Hebrew forces, while the other half remained with the non-combatants but ready at any moment to advance if needed, opposition would be paralyzed and the passage of the Negeb easily effected. At all events, the story as told is consistent only with such a scheme.

The camp was raised and the march began on the 20th of the second month, Iyar, early in April, a few days after the solar anniversary of the rising in Goshen; the time being now, as then, chosen when the supplies of water and forage were at their best.

On the point of departure, Moses, very disrespectfully to the pillar of cloud, besought his brother-in-law, Hobab, to join him with his people and share in the conquest. It is significant that Moses desired him to act as a guide in the desert; it proves that neither of the caravan routes which diverged at Kadesh was to be followed, but that it was the intention, sooner or later, to plunge into the trackless wilderness. Whether the aged Jethro still survived and advised against it cannot be known, but if not, the result was the same.

Hobab, an old man like Moses, preferred a fixed habita-

tion and peace for himself and his Kenites, to joining in toilsome marches and taking the risks of war to gratify an ambition of sharing successes still problematical. Knowing Moses' plan of seizing Kadesh, he soon abandoned Cushan and withdrew to "the oasis at the southwest point of the Dead Sea, where the city of Zoar lay, which, from its palm groves, was designated the City of Palm Trees (Thamara)."¹ We shall find his descendants and clan there hereafter.

The first movement was in the wilderness of Paran, a three days' journey, and the ark, not the cloud, "went before them to search out out a resting place for them."² The direction taken was southerly; for north lay Kadesh, east, the desert Et Tih, and west, the Kadesh-Shur road, which was not their route. At the first halt there was trouble again with the camp followers, and the convenient fire of Jahveh "consumed them in the uttermost parts of the camp." The spot was called Taberah (burning); but the encampment took its name from another circumstance. It was again the season of the tamarisk gum and of the migration of the so-called quails; the encampment, moreover, was in one of the same system of wadies as the year before. There is, therefore, no good reason to doubt that "the mixed multitude fell a lusting" for flesh, surfeited themselves on the birds again and died in large numbers; nor that Moses in the itinerary named the station, Kibroth-hattaavah, the Graves of the Greedy.

"And the people journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah unto Hazeroth, and abode at Hazeroth," the Inclosures. Burckhardt's identification of this station with Ain Hudherah is

¹ Graetz: Perhaps the Little City (Zoar-little) of Palm Trees, to distinguish it from the larger Jericho.

² Numbers x. 11, 12, 33.

adopted by Palmer and appears to be now accepted; but it is only possible on the hypothesis of the traditional Sinai, and on the assumption that remains found there are of inclosures made three thousand years ago. The only indication of a date during this summer after the 20th Iyar, to be noticed later, admits of but comparatively few nights in bivouac between the encampments after leaving Kibroth-hattaavah, and renders Ain Hudherah an impossibility, so far away in the Sinaitic mountains. Hazeroth is to be sought on the ancient caravan route from Kadesh to Ezion-geber. It is no matter for surprise, that after thirty centuries, no inclosures dating from the exodus have been found there, where no explorer has ever thought of seeking them.¹

This station is memorable as the scene of the altercation between Moses and his brother and sister; when they spake against him because of the Cushite woman he had taken—not *married* in the Hebrew. Luther makes the offence, "because he had taken a negress." The English version softens this to Ethiopian woman and its late revisers write Cushite, and leave the reader to guess at its meaning. The clause, "for he had taken a Cushite woman," has called out very queer comments—as, Zipporah was recently deceased, and Moses had married again, taking the Ethiop; Moses had divorced Zipporah for the Cushite; Zipporah was living and not discarded, but her husband, at the frisky age of above eighty, had taken a black concubine, etc.

Emend the Hebrew text by inserting a "nun," and Cushite becomes Cushmanite, and the Ethiopian woman is Zipporah, daughter of Jethro, the sheik of Cushan. She was an alien and her children, therefore, of half-blood; hence, the chronicler notes, "As for Moses, the man of God, his sons

¹ But Palmer found them only a few miles distant, in the wadies about Araif.

were named of the tribe of Levi."¹ This, perhaps, gives a clue to Miriam's jealousy. Hur, by tradition, was a son of Miriam and Caleb. Josephus makes him the husband of Miriam, says Philippon. The chronicler differs from both.² Suppose, however, either to be true, or that she had a husband not named, Miriam very naturally may have feared that the half-blood sons of the lawgiver and deliverer might take precedence of her posterity. Of this there was no danger, as the note implies, "the man Moses was very meek above all the men upon the face of the earth." He sought for his sons neither honors nor high station, and his posterity is lost among the undistinguished families of Levi, the notice excepted, that Shebuel, a descendant of Gershom, was appointed by David, a sub-treasurer of the house of God, and the descendants of Eliezer were over all the treasures of dedicated things.³ Jahveh, we read, sustained Moses and punished Miriam the principal offender with leprosy, which, it has been supposed, was a severe attack of jaundice, a not uncommon effect of violent rage. "And Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days; and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in *again*; and afterwards the people removed from Hazeroth and pitched in the wilderness of Paran," at Kadesh. By ignoring dates and distances, explorers and commentators have, some in one way, some in another, established to their own satisfaction the authenticity of the itinerary from Goshen to Hazeroth. But from Hazeroth it gives twenty names before that of Kadesh, and then (v. 36) the name follows Ezion-geber.

Here begin the difficulties with the itinerary, which have been found insurmountable and have led to its rejection as a trustworthy historical document, some holding it

¹ I. Ch. xxiii. 14.

² ib. ii. 18, 19.

³ ib. xxvi. 24-26.

to be an original, hopelessly corrupted by the transcribers, others, a clumsy forgery.

The itinerary begins by expressly claiming Moses for its author. "These *are* the journeys of the children of Israel which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord: and these *are* their journeys, according to their goings out." The word "journeys" here does not commend itself; far better is the "camping places" of the Vienna Bible and Allioli, and still more appropriate the "stations" of Graetz; the term which has been and will be used in this essay. It excludes halts in bivouac and makes it clear that the document is a list of actual encampments.

It is now proposed to vindicate precisely this part of the itinerary which has been the stumbling-block, and show that the stations, whether recorded by Moses or not, are given in their true order and succession.

The maps, from Sebastian Münster (1598) to the latest new ones of 1891, of the route of the Hebrews from Egypt to Canaan, may be divided into classes; those which draw the line of march from Sinai to Kadesh directly across Et Tih, and those which make it cross the pass to Ezion-geber, and thence up the Arabah. This Arabah route is supposed to be indicated in the expression, "Horeb by the way of Mt. Seir to Kadesh," the Mt. Seir being taken for the Seir range in Edom. One objection to this need only be noticed here, viz: the stations in the Arabah are given in verses 30 to 35 of the itinerary in the order of a movement south to, not north from, Ezion-geber, and not one of them is found among the dozen that immediately follow Hazeroth (v. 18), and not one of these is found in the Arabah list.

Moreover, these stations from Hazeroth onward are

those of the great and terrible wilderness passed, not by the way of, but on the way to,¹ the mountain of the Amorites near which the Hebrews came to Kadesh.²

This, also, so clearly excludes that route, that the latest maps abandon it for that across Et Tih. And yet the objections to this are such that Palmer adopted the other. They need not be stated here since Graetz's solution of the problem of the true Horeb reduces them to secondary importance. Yet Graetz, though with much hesitation, agrees with Palmer.

A rhomboid some forty-five by forty miles in extent, with the parallel of Ezion-geber for its southern, and the western heights of the Arabah valley for its eastern sides, covers upon the maps so much of the desert Et Tih as was the scene of the marches through the great and terrible wilderness from Horeb to Kadesh. Ain Hudherah is more than half a degree of latitude farther south than Ezion-geber. In this rhomboid we must find the route.

It has been shown that the first two verses of Deuteronomy belong to Numbers. The second, correctly translated, reads, "Eleven stations from Horeb on the way to Mt. Seir to Kadesh-barnea"—the blooming meads of Kadesh (Fürst). This text is simply an explanatory note or gloss; but to what? There is but one chapter throughout the Pentateuch to which it is appropriate, Num. XXXIII. Graetz, writing of the itinerary, remarks, "The omission of Kadesh in the middle is either because it has dropped out or is given under another name, Makheloth (v. 24, 25), for instance. For we read, at the waters of strife in Kadesh (Numb. XX. 2) they gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron. From this tumultuous gathering Kadesh may have

¹ Philippson, Vienna Heb. German Bible, Allioli.

² Deut. i. 19.

been named Makheloth." We have before learned that Kadesh was a district of some extent and have found there Meribah-Kadesh (Waters of Strife in Kadesh); Ain Mishpat (Springs of Judgment) "which is (in) Kadesh;" Midbar-Kadesh (Pastures of Kadesh); Kadesh-barnea (Green Meads of Kadesh); why not then Makheloth-Kadesh (camp of the riotous assembling at Kadesh)? We have also learned that one of the group of heights just north of Kadesh-barnea was a Mt. Seir; is there any good reason for not holding this to be the Seir of the text under consideration? Turn now to the itinerary. Take Sinai (v. 16) as one, and count onward to eleven (v. 25). It is Makheloth, the camp of tumultuous congregatings, pitched in the green meads of Kadesh. The B. compilers, or more probably Baruch, who had been there, noticing that the absence of the name Kadesh might produce precisely the doubt and confusion which it has done, wrote the gloss "eleven stations," etc. That it was an after thought is clear from its position. An English writer would doubtless have expressed himself differently and more to the point according to our notions; but ancient Hebrew and modern English are two very different languages. The English word "male" is occasionally expressed by a curious circumlocution, which most versions of the Old Testament retain.

If, by the reading Makheloth-Kadesh, the itinerary can be vindicated precisely as it stands, there can be no shadow of doubt as to its correctness; and what a flood of light will thus be reflected upon the problem of the true Sinai. This shall now be tested.

The desert, Et Tih, is described as a high table-land gradually rising to the eastern edge, which forms the western mountain wall of the Arabah valley, which, by Palmer's map, is about 1,400 feet high.

Ravines, gorges, or short wadies break through it at intervals into the Arabah, at the heads of which, in April and May, water and forage are found. The names that follow Hazeroth, not one of which occurs elsewhere, are seen at a glance, when translated, to be names of encampments, not of places, and indicate a route along the heads of these wadies until it turned westerly to Kadesh.

Rithmah	Camp of the Broomplant
Rimmonparez	Pomegranate ravine.
Libnah	Incense trees (?).
Rissah	Heaps of ruins.
Kehelathah	Assemblings.
Mount Shapher	Beautiful mountain.
Haradah	Place of terror. ¹

If spies from the Negeb followed the Hebrews, which can hardly be doubted, and saw them depart from Hazeroth along the Ezion-geber road, they must have been convinced that the intention was to cross the pass and descend into the Arabah, and, returning home, have so reported. Moses, we hold, designed to make just this impression and divert suspicion from his real purpose. The stay at Hazeroth was of some weeks' duration, during which the mounted men could easily, and we believe did, examine the route along the heads of the wadies above mentioned, noting the practicable ways and the best sites for encampment. The distance to be traversed to Kadesh by this route was only some fifty to sixty miles, to which the seven stations named, with occasional bivouacs, correspond. There was also sufficient time, as will be seen later, to accomplish the march and yet admit of halts long enough for rest and recuperation of man and beast.

We must, therefore, conceive the Hebrews moving on-

¹ Fürst's Lexicon.

ward from Hazeroth towards the pass to some convenient point where they abruptly wheeled to the north and pitched in Rithmah. Instead of marching into and up the Arabah, which the itinerary, if authentic and not corrupted in text, cannot possibly admit, the grand procession of tribes, Judah to Dan, moved on from station to station and suddenly emerged from the great and terrible wilderness at the tenth, took possession of the district Kadesh without a blow, and pitched their camps at the eleventh, Makheloth.

CHAPTER XI.

AT KADESH.

The Hebrews now held the whole district of Kadesh. Their grazing lands extended from Zin to Cushan, now abandoned by Hobab and his Kenites, and to the wadies about Horeb or Araif. They had no enemy to fear. Their military force, hardened and disciplined by the late march, was sufficiently numerous to be divided into an army for the conquest, and an army for the defence of the encampment.

By continuing the policy of peace with the Negeb peoples, which had not been broken since the raid of the Amalekites was defeated, the camp was and would remain a market for them and the passing caravans, besides being the center of a caravan trade of their own. The later history as given in Numbers and Joshua, demonstrates that, at this time, there was no design of seizing so extensive a territory as the conquest afterwards covered; neither the Negeb nor the trans-Jordan districts were now included in the plan. There was, therefore, no reason why the Negeb peoples

should object to the passage of the Hebrew army up the Paran route to Maon, Hebron and Jerusalem. If they did object, they were so taken by surprise as to be unprepared to make any formidable resistance to the sudden advance of an army of thirty thousand men supported by a reserve of equal strength.

The D. compilers are, therefore, supported by reason and common sense in representing Moses as ordering this movement immediately upon taking possession of Kadesh;¹ for, as battles in those days, when neither chariots nor cavalry were employed, were hand to hand fights, the issue was certain. He was overruled by the senate—of course ignored in the text—which judged it better to first reconnoiter the country to be invaded. The B. compilers, of course, make Jahveh “speak unto Moses” and order the expedition. It was ordered, and, by the delay it caused, the course of Hebrew history was changed.

The words “spy” and “spies” used in the English version, have, by their degrading associations, created an exceedingly false impression of the character of the commission. The twelve names are recorded, of every tribe one, every one a ruler. Caleb and Joshua represented Judah and Ephraim, and it can hardly be doubted that all the twelve were members of the senate, that is, that the commission of rulers was made up by that body from its own members. And these men are supposed to have scattered, sneaked from place to place on foot, with a change of clothing in a blanket on their backs, depending upon begging or stealing for food, and to have “spied” out Palestine in its length and breadth in less than six weeks. Nonsense. Less than two years since they were princes and gentlemen in Goshen; had anything occurred to change their social position?

¹ Deut. i. 20, 21.

They were not sent out to explore an unknown land, but one known to "flow with milk and honey." The object was to learn to what extent it had again become inhabited since its devastation in the time of Ramses III., and the character and strength of those who had taken possession. Of the instructions given them¹ much was superfluous for the older generation, but a description of the rich soil and productions by them as eye witnesses, it was justly thought, would have a good effect in encouraging the zeal and enterprise of the younger.

The commission traveled as a caravan of wealthy merchants, with servants and attendants, with tents and all the conveniences and comforts that nomadic life permits, with a dignity corresponding to their social position. This is common sense, and there is nothing in the Hebrew text against it.

The notices of their route are very brief and very confused, but it seems to have been this: Departing from Zin, the commission crossed the Negeb by a pass west of the Paran valley and skirted the Judean mountains, having the Canaanites of the coast on their left, and finding Amorites, Jebusites and Hittites on the right. They proceeded leisurely north to the declivity of Lebanon and Hermon and the sources of the Jordan. Returning, they followed that river to the Dead Sea, whence, turning westerly, they came to Hebron and made their way down the Paran road to Kadesh. The small parties sent out right and left from their halting places to purchase food in the markets of the towns and villages, obtained accurate information of their condition. Thus the observations of the commission covered about two and a half degrees of latitude and half a degree of longitude or more, and the tour with its turns and

¹ Numb. xiii.

windings out and back, was at least some five hundred miles, and they returned from exploring the land at the end of forty days. Understanding this literally, the time is not too much for a caravan of wealthy merchants, moving leisurely, making frequent halts, and accompanied by the common proportion of serving men on foot.

Their report upon the valley of the Jordan, probably gave the first impulse to the plan later adopted of invading Canaan from the east. The indication of a date, referred to in the last chapter, occurs here. The commission started on its journey at "the time of the first ripe grapes." On its return it brought pomegranates, figs and grapes, one cluster of which, cut by the Brook of Eschol (cluster of grapes), was so huge, that two men bore it suspended on a pole to save it from being crushed by its own weight.

At the head of the Adriatic, where figs, pomegranates and olives flourish luxuriantly in the open air, the first ripe grapes appear in the markets about the middle of August—somewhat earlier or later according to the temperature of the season. The species of grapes that bear the very large clusters, and the pomegranates, ripen some six weeks later. Allowing for the difference in latitude and climate, the first ripe grapes and ripe pomegranates in Canaan are two or three weeks earlier. The commission was sent out immediately after the arrival at Kadesh.

The march from Horeb thither began on the 20th Iyar, end of April, and ended at the time of the first ripe grapes, at the beginning of August. Its eleven stations, therefore, cover a period of three months. This is so reasonable as to preclude doubt. By the reasoning above, the commission was absent six weeks, which correspond sufficiently to the forty days of the text.

So, here again, there is that correspondence between

dates, distances and rates of marching, which has been discovered from the start in Goshen, which bears all the marks of truth and vindicates the itinerary perfectly to this point.

Before proceeding to the report of the commission, a preliminary remark may be excused.

Princes, heads of tribes, are recognized and recorded as performing important functions in Numb. I., II., VII. and X., and the senate, by an anachronism, is also recognized in XI. 16; yet, in the story of the spies, they are totally ignored. The *spies* report to the *people*; the *people* wept that night; the transactions of the next day (Chapter XIV.) are between Moses, Aaron, Joshua and Jahveh on the one part and the *people* on the other; and it is the people (by whom led?) who next morning repent and attack the Amalekites. The scene is the encampment so fully described in chapter II., which occupied some fifteen to twenty square miles, and, though "all the congregation of the children of Israel" are said to have been present, the whole business, from the return of the spies to the *people's* defeat, occupies, at the most, but sixty hours. Yet, in spite of inconsistencies and contradictions, writers, in this year of grace 1891, still gravely comment upon this story as being literally true and historic. It passes comprehension. Moreover, they make Moses himself to be its author. *Its real authors, the B. compilers, as in so many other cases, are not writing history, but using history to impress certain lessons upon the minds of the faithful among the Babylonian captives.*

Certain variations in the translations of these two chapters may as well be noted here.

The English version of Numb. XIII. 17, reads: Get *you* up this way southward (Negeb), and makes no sense; which is, Get you up via the Negeb; and both Philippon and the Vienna Heb. Ger. Bible so understand it.

In XIV. 25, we find, "now the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwelt in the valley." This clause makes poor, if any, sense with its immediate context, and is also incongruous with v. 45. Philippson's version, "nun sitzet im Thale," implies that those peoples had posted a heavy military force in the valley, accords with v. 43, and is a good reason why Moses should turn away and make no effort to force a passage. In the same chapter v. 40, the people rose up early and gat them up into the top of the mountain. What mountain? Was the camp and Moses' tent on the top of a mountain? Here, also, Philippson gives us sense. They rose early that they might ascend the heights, *i. e.* to attack the Amalekites.

All attempts known to the writer, to bring the substance of these two chapters into a rational, historic form fail lamentably. Kittel's, the latest, is condensed into two short sentences; "An attempt to push forward north (from Kadesh) fails through the cowardice of the people. For long years, Israel, completely routed and discouraged, can think no more of an advance." The people and Israel!

Reinstate the princes and senate in their historic rights, and there is small difficulty in forming a reasonable conception of the facts that underlie the story as told. The following presentation of them is offered for consideration.

Upon the return of the commission, the members of the assembly came from their various camps to the great tent of meeting near Moses' headquarters to hear their report. There was not much in it, as we have it, that was new. It confirmed the reports of the fertility and productiveness of the land, which had made it a very valuable province to Egypt for so long a period; of the disappearance of the old Ruthenu inhabitants and its present occupation by colonies of Canaanites, Hittites and others.

Upon the feasibility of the proposed invasion by the Paran route of the Negeb, there was a division of opinion, ten of the commissioners denied, two only, Caleb and Joshua, affirmed it. The ten exaggerated the power of the Amalekites, pretending that they occupied all the Negeb, and told terrible stories of Anakim and giants about Hebron. Caleb and Joshua denied these statements, the falsity of which they both lived to prove. It was only necessary to move at once and take the inhabitants of the land by surprise, in order to possess it, for, said Caleb, we are well able to overcome it. In this conflict of statements and opinions, Moses and the senate could not order an immediate advance. The debates, therefore, were continued from day to day and became acrimonious. The passions of the ten were excited and the disagreement assumed dangerous proportions. Trusting to their influence in the tribes which they represented, they, the ten, grew insolent, violent, and appear to have incited riotous demonstrations against Caleb and Joshua, whose remonstrances were answered by threats of death.

The ten did succeed in gaining their point; the invasion by the Paran road was abandoned, for they had caused a delay until the timely moment was passed beyond recall; but it was a barren victory. The senate, in announcing the fact, also declared its determination to sanction no movement against Canaan until the present generation had passed away. The blow was as severe as unexpected, for the ten and their partisans knew that Moses and the senate, supported by the tribes of Judah, Ephraim and Levi, with the whole body of the freedmen, had at all events the power to enforce non-action.

Made desperate by this determination of the great assembly, which condemned them to continue for their re-

maining years the nomad life, for which, as they supposed, they had but temporarily exchanged their civil life in Goshen, which destroyed all hope of playing notable parts in an established commonwealth, and doomed them to fall into undistinguished graves in the wilderness, their insubordination culminated in a proposition to withdraw with their families, retainers and property, from the encampment, choose a new leader, return to Egypt, and make peace with the Pharoah. This incident, related of two or three millions of fugitives from Egyptian slavery, now living in idleness with nothing to complain of but a monotonous diet of manna, has been justly held to be incredible; told of a faction of the rich Hebrews, late of Goshen, it is not so, and, indeed, finds parallels in American history. The Tory party in the Revolution was ever ready to make peace with King George, and the cabal against Washington is a notorious incident in that war. In the late terrible civil war, there was a party in the north that opposed President Lincoln even to riot and bloodshed, and urged making terms with the South, and trusting to the tender mercy of the slave power. Abate the false coloring which the Hebrew text imparts to all these transactions and, in substance, they are credible. The great mass of the people was no more implicated than in the American parallel cases.

Cowardice could not have been the only motive of the ten for making their evil report. There was, probably, a jealousy of the tribe of Judah, the most powerful of all, to which was given pre-eminence of position both in camp and on the march, and personal envy and jealousy of Joshua, whose great qualities had made him the confidant of Moses, who had commanded the forces against the Amalekites the year before, and who would probably be put at the head of

an army of invasion. But it is useless to speculate on this topic.

The aged heads of the tribes, contemporaries of Moses and associated with him in all the preliminary steps to the exodus, had not deserted him now, and, by their influence, the senate had decided to defer the invasion until a new generation, educated in the new religious, civil and military life, should come upon the stage of action; one that had learned obedience to, and reverence for, the law; reared in the belief that Canaan was theirs by right of inheritance and by the promise of the national deity; of one mind, one purpose and one conscious destiny.

For it was manifest that even if the conquest should now be effected, there was no security that the union, in which was their strength, would long be preserved—the book of Judges proves their sagacity in this—and the establishment of a strictly Hebrew state under the God of their fathers be achieved. These old men, moreover, were in the period of life when the desire of peace and quietness had become strong, and the toils, dangers and responsibilities of war are gladly left to younger men. True, the longer the invasion was delayed, the more numerous and the stronger would be the adversaries; but there was no danger of any union among them; feuds and quarrels would surely weaken them; and, in any case, whatever they might gain by time would be more than offset by the improvement in all respects of the Hebrew rank and file.

Each of the ten was a man of high position and influence in his tribe, a ruler and a head of the children of Israel. It could not be known how extensive was the defection, but it might be such that, though it could not have embraced the freedmen, it might cripple the strength of ten of the twelve tribes. The threat to withdraw and return to Goshen, if car-

ried out, imperiled not merely the present safety but the very existence of the infant nation. The Egyptian government would be fully instructed as to its position and its enfeebled condition. To push forward a large army, stir up the Negeb peoples by promises of plunder and so crush the Hebrews as between the upper and nether millstones, would follow as a matter of course. This is darkly hinted at in the remonstrance of Moses to 'Jahveh.'

The point was, therefore, now reached where forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and Jahveh interfered. Jahveh's plague divides the honor with Jahveh's fire as the ever ready supporter, vindicator and avenger of Moses, and we read; "Even these men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before Jahveh. This brought the surviving leaders of the faction to their senses. They succumbed, came to Moses with great professions of penitence, and offered to lead in the invasion. But it was now too late. The protracted debates and dissensions in the senate had not been, could not be, concealed; and the Amalekites and Canaanites, to prevent a passage, had posted heavy forces along the Paran valley. This did not escape the vigilance of Moses. He assured the deputation that defeat was inevitable: "Go not up, for Jahveh is not with you, that ye be not smitten before your enemies. For the Amalekites and Canaanites are there before you, and ye shall fall by the sword." Neither his remonstrances nor his assurance that they would not be supported in their attack had any effect. Here was an opportunity, they fondly believed, to distinguish themselves, trusting that their force drawn from ten of the tribes would be amply sufficient; but if not, they were confident that all the authority of Moses and the senate would not be able to prevent a general volunteer rush to their aid. No effort be-

¹ Numb. xiv. 13, 14.

yond reason and remonstrance was made to retain them; for they formed a refractory and turbulent element in the encampment, of which, if it chose to destroy itself, the united tribes would happily be freed.

But they arrogantly persisted and marched up the heights. From the descriptions of the landscape by Palmer and others, the action must have been witnessed by myriads in and about the encampment, as the grand assault upon Missionary Ridge was watched with breathless interest from Chattanooga. How different the result. Suddenly the Amalekites struck them in front, the corps in the valley, on the flank and rear. The rout was complete, they were "discomfited to destruction." The D. compilers introduce the Seir of this group of heights in their text; "The Amorites . . . chased you as bees do and routed you at Seir even to destruction."

To make the Hebrew word *chormah* here a proper name, Hormah, is inexcusable. The attack was made from the south, and the fugitives fled past Seir to the south—"and ye *returned*, and wept before Jahveh," say the D. compilers. The Zephath, which long years afterwards was named Hormah, from its utter destruction, lay away twenty miles or more northeast, across the heights and gorges of the Negeb. The loss to an army aggregating little more than sixty thousand men, no doubt, was severe, but was balanced by the moral effect, especially upon the freedmen, in strengthening the authority of the senate and commander-in-chief by whom no step was taken to avenge it. This was a new and strong guarantee of their peace policy.

If there had been an intention of immediately moving from Kadesh, as is intimated,¹ it was now abandoned and the encampment still remained there for a long period, and the

¹ Numb. xiv. 25.

former relations with the neighboring peoples were unchanged. Raschi, the great Jewish teacher of the eleventh century A. D., computes the stay at nineteen years.¹ When Moses did remove, it was but to return for another long period. Both the B. and D. compilers assert that the object was to delay the conquest of Canaan until that generation was buried in the wilderness, and they are supported by other writers, as by the author of Ps. XCV. (v. 10), and the prophet Amos (II. 10, v. 25). Kittel discusses the point and concludes: "I can see no ground at all that should lead us to doubt the historic truth of the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness." The next record of events, obscure, confused and contradictory, affords no indication of a date. It is another story of insubordination, of revolt against ordinances decreed at Horeb.

The relentless severity of punishment inflicted in like cases, from Nadab and Abihu to the contumacious spies, must have restrained the most ambitious and discontented until the lapse of years had deadened the memory of them; and this consideration fixes the date of the present trouble as just before the departure from Kadesh.

By all the genealogies of Levi, his sons were Gershon, Kohath and Merari; but, instead of the line of the first born, Gershon, Libni, Jahath, Zimmah, that of the second born, Kohath, Amram, Aaron, Eleazar, took the high priesthood, and to that line the inferior grades of priests were confined. Nowhere is there found a sign of discontent with this on the part of the Gershonites; but Korah, eldest son of Izhar, and, therefore, first cousin to Aaron and Moses, was dissatisfied. The sons of Kohath were Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel, and yet, in the adjustment of the Kohathites,² it is stated "the chief of the house of the father (or R. V., the prince

¹ Cited by Philippon.

² Numb. iii. 30.

of the father's house) of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan, the son of Uzziel, the fourth and youngest of the brothers." The waiving of primogeniture as between Gershon and Kohath, which gave the high priesthood to Aaron, is not complained of, and, had Korah been made what may be termed the civil head of the Kohathites, he would probably have been contented; but that this position was given to the youngest family was a degradation to which he would not submit. During the long march from Horeb to Kadesh, his sons and grandsons had been, in their turn, but bearers of the ark, altar, sacred vessels, and utensils, which, in part, they were not to touch or even look upon uncovered on pain of death, and, in the ordering and discipline of the Kohathite camp, his family was subordinate to that of Uzziel. Now, too, for years past, Aaron and his sons, officiating in their magnificent robes at the temple-tent on the new moons, Sabbaths, and festivals, were the most conspicuous personages in the encampment.

The subcamps of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were near each other. These two men and On of the same tribe, were disaffected because the first place in the federation was given to the tribe of Judah, fourth son of Jacob, the position which by birthright belonged to their own, that of Reuben the first born. Being neighbors, their grievances became topics of discussion between them, and, as the devil, according to Dr. Watts, finds mischief for idle hands to do, they seem in the long years of indolent camp life to have gained here and there some few supporters of their pretensions and to have re-awakened the old jealousy of, and opposition to, Moses, which, however, did not escape his vigilant eye. Their first overt act seems innocent enough so far as can be judged by the record, for it was simply an appeal by Korah, supported by the others named, to the senate,

for such a modification of the religious ordinances as would admit him and his sons to share in the priestly offices, the high priesthood, of course, excepted.

But more was behind as Moses knew, and as is reflected in the opening sentence of the record.¹ Korah, Dathan and Abiram and On "rose up before Moses with certain of the children of Israel—250 princes of the congregation called of the community," men of mark—and assembled themselves together against Moses and against Aaron."

The confusion, obscurity and incongruity of this chapter begins here at the outset. By computations before made and by the census, the number of these supposed princes is a Masoretic exaggeration; but princes of the tribes they were not, for whether they numbered twenty-five or ten times so many, they were Korah's "company" (v. 5) and were seeking the priesthood (v. 6-11, 16-18); but princes of the tribes could neither be nor desire to become priests, and are, therefore, decisively excluded from this company.

Again, verse 12 is misplaced; it was the next day that Moses sent for Dathan and Abiram, on this, they are before him. Other difficulties in this chapter arise from the more than usual vague use of the words, tabernacle, congregation, assembly. Whoever reads it thoughtfully with the plan of the encampment before him, and endeavors to picture the scene in fancy, finds all in inextricable confusion unless he applies these words to different tents of meeting and different assemblages such as the sense requires; but by doing this, the historic kernel, to use Kittel's expression, is not difficult to extract, leaving the shell, the supernatural element, to the reader's judgment.

¹ Numb. xvi.

¹ Kerue-ha-Edah called or appointed to act as justices of the peace. See Graetz, *Gesch.* 1. 339.

The first interview between Moses and Aaron on the one part, Korah and his company, with Dathan, Abiram and On on the other, was in fact the appearance of the second party before the senate, assembled in its great tent, for that body alone had power to act in the premises. Their argument was specious. All Levites, being separated from the tribes and consecrated to the temple service, were holy, and, therefore, the heads of the "families" must be eligible to the priesthood. During the debate they charged their exclusion to the ambition of the Amram family.

Later, Dathan and Abiram charged Moses with both ambition and greed, and he was "very wroth." The senate, which was in full accord with its head, temporized; the question should be decided the next day. Though by the statutes the high priest only could offer incense on the altar in the sanctuary, there were occasions when his subordinate priests burned incense in portable censers.¹ Hence, the censer was a token of priesthood which Korah had provided for himself and his other candidates in anticipation of a change of the statutes in his favor; for it cannot be supposed that without such a change he would have dared to burn unauthorized incense before Jahveh; he could not have forgotten the fate of Nadab and Abihu.

Thus far no adequate reason for the awful punishment said to have been inflicted upon him, his followers and his family, has appeared. It must be sought elsewhere. The key is found in verses 13 and 14. A widespread discontent with the inaction of the ruling authorities, which persisted in the determination to await the extinction of that generation before undertaking the conquest, is there indicated. The action of Korah was but tentative, an entering wedge. To grant his petition or claim would be abrogating a funda-

¹ Lev. x. 1, ii. Ch. xxvi. 16-19.

mental article in the religious constitution, and might lead by degrees to the subversion of the federal compact ratified at Horeb. *Obsta principiis*, resist first steps, was the principle on which Moses and the senate now acted, and which justified another and most effectual blow for the constitution and code.

Korah, being a Levite, and his affair Levitical, its settlement was left to his tribe, and Moses ordered him and his party to appear in the court and at the door of the tabernacle the next morning with their censers in hand. On the contrary, the matter of Dathan and his confederates was one between them and the tribes and could only be decided by the representatives of the tribes sitting as the senate. This body, therefore, ordered them to appear on the morrow at its tent of meeting to learn the decision.

At the hour appointed, probably that at which Aaron burned the daily morning incense, Korah and his company were met at the door of the tabernacle by Moses, Aaron, the priests and Levites, who were employed in the early sacrifice. Whether a body of armed Levites was posted in or near the court is not stated. At all events, Korah and his followers were separated from all who sympathized with them; and as the great curtain—the gate of the court¹—was doubtless not drawn, what followed was witnessed by no eye outside and could only have been reported by the Levites within.

The account is, that the question, whether Jahveh would accept their incense, and thus sanction their elevation to the priesthood, was settled against them in this wise: they were instructed to take, every man his censer, put fire in it, lay incense thereon and stand at the door of the tabernacle. This they did, and there came out a fire from Jahveh and consumed them. Moses returned to the senate where

¹ Ex. xxvii. 16.

Dathan and Abiram were awaited. They did not appear. Messengers were sent to call them. They sent an insolent and abusive reply and refused to come. The senate, outraged by so flagrant an act of disobedience, marched in a body with Moses at the head (v. 25) to their camps, about which crowds of curious and anxious spectators gathered from all quarters. Being ordered for their own safety to withdraw, "they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan and Abiram on every side; and Dathan and Abiram came out and stood in the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children." Then the ground cleaved asunder, the earth opened his mouth and swallowed all that appertained to Korah and the men associated with him, they and all that appertained to them went down alive into Sheol, and the earth closed upon them. This was, indeed, a visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children, and one asks, was it justice?

The story is certainly very old; the D. compilers mention it, and it is manifest that the B. compilers drew their concise and vivid picture of its horrors from their ancient sources. Scientific objections to it are futile, for a miracle is professedly a violation of natural laws, and must be accepted as a fact, if the testimony be conclusive. In this case, the testimony is so deemed by the vast majority throughout Christendom, yet it is still an open question whether the catastrophe was in fact so shocking as represented. The B. compilers themselves cast shades of doubt over their own picture sufficiently deep to justify the query: was there any other opening of the earth's mouth, than in the form of graves for the offenders? In a later chapter, repeating the substance of the story, they add, "the children of Korah died not."¹ This is abundantly confirmed in later books.

¹ Numb. xxvi. 9-11.

Samuel was a descendant of Korah; the chronicler records the names of Korahites appointed by David to offices in the house of God,¹ and ten psalms are inscribed to the sons of Korah. Again, after describing the awful interposition of Jahveh, the terrible exhibition of divine wrath and power, when all Israel round about fled at the cry of them, for they said, lest the earth swallow us up also (v. 34), this destruction of man, woman and child by supernatural power, the B. compilers continue, "*On the morrow* all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against *Moses and against Aaron* saying: Ye have killed the people of Jahveh." Such a charge, under the circumstances as detailed, is utterly incomprehensible. As well charge the farmer with murder, under whose oak a man is killed by lightning. Equally incomprehensible is the account that follows (v. 42, et seq.) of Jahveh's vindication of Moses and Aaron by an instantaneous visitation of plague.

The compilers, in their polemics against Zerubabel and the Davidian monarchy, are ever ready to stretch a point to enforce their doctrine, that the invisible Jahveh was their all-sufficient king and ever ready to help and save, as when they gravely relate the arrest of the earth in its daily revolution, at the command of Joshua, on the authority of an old ballad in the book of Jasher. Now, Korah and his company were isolated from all sympathizers, in the court of the tabernacle; the sub-camps were also isolated; the night had afforded plenty of time to prepare for a sudden and fearful punishment of the offenders if they continued stubborn and intractable, and it was inflicted.

If, by human agency, one can understand how Aaron should be accused of the destruction of Korah and his company, and Moses charged with that of Dathan and Abiram;

¹ I. Ch. ix. 17, 19, 31.

how *on the morrow* the clamour issued in a riot and the senate vindicated its authority, with that of the chief commander and chief priest, by the sword. "Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah." This huge number is truly Masoretic.

If Jahveh's fires, plagues, and here, the cleaving of the earth, are but figures of speech representing sudden and fearful chastisements by human agency, or if they are legends to which such occurrences in the lapse of time give rise, it was quite a matter of course with the B. compilers to cite and use them as historic.

The three chapters that follow are devoted to the account of the miracle of Aaron's rod and the ordinances thereupon issued. If the argument to prove that a temple-tent was constructed and a constitutional priesthood, with Aaron at its head, was established at Horeb, be valid, it is altogether reasonable that the question raised by Korah, whether any change should be made, was debated, and the supremacy of Aaron and his descendants over the Levites and the religious ordinances, now reaffirmed, once for all time. The fact underlying these chapters, namely, that such a decision was now made and announced in such a manner as to impress it indelibly upon the minds of all, cannot well be disputed.

All subsequent history of the Jews confirms it. Whether the matter was determined by Aaron's rod, which Moses is said to have found "on the morrow to have budded, and put forth buds, and blossomed blossoms and bare ripe almonds" in that one night—on this we have only to remark, that it reminds one of eastern conjurers and their curious trick of making trees grow visibly in a few minutes.

Assuming, for reasons before given, that these events occurred about the twentieth year of the exodus, there are

many and strong grounds why the encampment should be raised and Kadesh for a time be abandoned. The spirit of discontent was rife, a natural consequence of indolent inaction; the generation now coming upon the stage needed the discipline of camp life in motion, to be gained more easily before they who had experience were wholly passed away; probably, also, the long sojourn of some 300,000 human beings with such numerous herds and flocks had perniciously affected the sanitary condition of the district and produced wide-spread disease, which, in course of time, became associated with the chastisement of Korah and his accomplices. The mixed multitude appears to have already disappeared, and the turbulent element in the several camps to have been in great measure eliminated.

To prevent its again assuming dangerous proportions the scene must be changed. The D. compilers make Moses say: "Then we turned and took our journey into the wilderness by the way to (not of, as in the English version) the Jam Suph. . . and we compassed Mt. Seir many days." That invaluable record, the itinerary, enables us to follow the movement, free from all doubt or uncertainty. It was by the great eastern caravan route, from Kadesh into the Arabah, where it entered that which came from the Dead Sea, and followed it south to Ezion-geber.

The many days are here, as in other places, equivalent to several years. The camp remained at the several stations until the pasturage was exhausted, and was still a market for the Edomites from whom supplies of food were purchased. Advancing from Kadesh, the stations were: 1. Tahath, the Hollow. 2. Tarah, the Turning. 3. Mithcah, Sweet Springs. 4. Hashmonah, Fertility. 5. Moseroth, Mosera, or Mt. Hor--three names given to this station. Seen in the distance across the Arabah, the mountain, says Palmer, rises so

conspicuous above all the neighboring heights as to merit the name Ha Hor, *The Mountain*. The reasons of late given for denying this to be the scene of Aaron's death appear too feeble to raise even a doubt. It is the fifth station from Kadesh, and the distance by the latest maps corresponds. 6. Bene Jaakan, or Beeroth Bene Jaakan, the Wells of the Children of Jaakan. 7. Hor ha Gidgad, the Cleft Mountain. 8. Jotbathah, Abundant Brooks. 9. Ebronah, Sea Shore. 10. Ezion-geber.

If the distances by the latest maps, from Kadesh to Mt. Hor and from Mt. Hor to Ezion-geber, and if the meagre descriptions at hand of the character of the road, are correct, there is the same striking correspondence between the number of stations and the possible rate of progress, which has been found hitherto. In the Arabah, as described by travelers, somewhat longer marches are practicable, and it is not necessary to assume a night or two in bivouac.

Neither the B. nor the D. compilers, except in the itinerary, give any record of this movement, and the story of the brazen serpent is misdated and misplaced in relating it of the second march down the Arabah,¹ which did not extend beyond the markets of Edom and the abundant brooks. The story loses its point unless the scene be laid in the desert around the head of the Gulf of Akabah at Ebronah or Ezion-geber. For lack of bread and water, "the people spake against God and against Moses" and Jahveh sent fiery serpents who bit them, and much people died.

That the story had a basis of fact appears to be confirmed by II. Kings XXIII. 4; Hezekiah "brake in pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made; for unto these days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and it was called Nechushtan" (the brass god). Burckhardt and

¹ Numb. xxi. 4-9.

others testify to the abundance of venomous snakes in that desert in our times. Why remonstrances by the people, for bringing them on a useless journey into that intensely hot, waterless, sandy waste should have been punished by inciting the reptiles to bite the people indiscriminately, does not very clearly appear. The story is, however, told by the B. compilers so far as to point the same old moral, and that with them was the main thing,

"And they removed from Ezion-geber and pitched in the pastures of Zin, which is Kadesh."¹

The stations are not named, because they were the same as on the advance though in reverse order. There was no haste. The camp remained long where water and herbage abounded; and so the journey from Kadesh to Ezion-geber and back, occupied "many days"—several years. They came "unto the pastures of Zin in the first month, and the people abode in Kadesh."² No hint as to the year is given, that we can find, though Philippon makes it the fortieth year of the exodus. But the expression, "the people abode in Kadesh," warrants the inference of another long sojourn there, and, moreover, Philippon's date is inconsistent with the later record of events.

"And Miriam died there and was buried there"—a short, dry record; nothing to gratify the natural wish to know more of her last days; so, too, Jethro, Zipporah and Hobab pass away unnoted, and the fate of Moses' own sons is nowhere told by the B. compilers.

Following the death of Miriam is another account of water obtained from the rock. It need not be rejected as a mere repetition of the former story, for the subterranean reservoir that had supplied water before, was not far from

¹ Itin. v. 36.

² Numb. xx. 1.

the present encampment, and in a season of drought may well have been reopened.

"Thirty-eight years," says Graetz, "the Hebrews lingered in this region . . . and wandered from Kadesh to the Gulf of Akabah, hither and thither. In this region and during this time, Moses developed his energy as an educator. The old generation died out gradually, and the younger was by him and those who stood by him and under his guidance, trained into a God-fearing, courageous, persevering community."¹ The new generation was now in the vigor of manhood, submissive, obedient and eager for the conquest.

Unfortunately, the relations between Moses and the senate had in some degree changed. The aged heads of the tribes, his contemporaries and co-workers in Goshen and at Horeb, had all passed away and given place to their sons, who had minds and wills of their own and were not able to fully comprehend and accept this great leader's profound and far-sighted policy.

Moses still held to the original plan of invading Canaan from the south, and of making no conquests east of the Jordan, for the number of the Hebrews was too small to people adequately even Canaan proper, and he considered it to be all important that Edom, Moab and Ammon, kindred by race, should remain friendly, and serve as a protection on the east, as their territories covered the border from the Arabah, along the Dead Sea and the Jordan to the mountains about Lake Genesareth. From the Mediterranean coast they would have nothing to fear for the present, and in comparatively few years the new commonwealth would double its numbers and be consolidated into a homogeneous people, able to resist any probable invader.

¹ Gesch. i, 48.

Moreover, the more compactly the tribes were settled, the greater was the probability that they would remain one in interests, one in development, one in habits and customs and, under the influence of the Levitical towns and villages, one in religion.

The great northern invasion seems not to have disturbed the country east of the Jordan; on the contrary, it relieved it from fear of the old oppressor, Egypt, and, so far as appears, the two or three generations since had been a period of peace and prosperity, one case excepted.

As to the petty kingdoms that now shared Canaan proper, their history is little more than a blank except in this one instance, which in the end defeated the policy of Moses, changed the plan of conquest against his will for one which though successful at small cost of life, eventually begat all those evils which his sagacity had foreseen.

Graetz, with wonted ability, comments upon the disastrous effects on the fortunes of the Hebrew commonwealth, which later followed the occupation of the trans-Jordan districts; but the topic belongs to a period beyond the limits of this essay.

The most numerous, enterprising and warlike of the Canaanite peoples were the Amorites. Tradition notes them as early as the days of Abraham and Jacob. Moses found them in the Negeb, and Joshua defeated "the five kings of the Amorites" at Gibeon.

Coveting the rich lands of Moab, a force of that people under a certain Sihon or Sichon, crossed the river, seized all northern Moab from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and drove the Ammonites also from their land to a district farther east. Thus Moab and Ammon were separated by a broad space through which a passage to the Jordan, if not conceded, might be forced without breaking the peace with them.

Many years must have elapsed after the devastation of Canaan, before the Amorites had developed a force adequate to Sihon's movements, which, therefore, could not have taken place many years previous to the date at which we have arrived, nor have escaped the knowledge of the vigilant leaders at Kadesh, hardly a hundred miles distant.

The military advantage of invading Canaan from the east, rather than through the defiles of the Negeb, is beyond question. Once across the river, the extremely fertile oasis, the plain of Jordan, afforded a noble site for the encampment, and by taking Jericho and Ai, a base of operations would be secured against the center of the proposed conquests, such that no general confederation of the Canaanites could be effected, nor any force be brought into the field to compare with that of the Hebrews. Moses saw the probability of being obliged to force a passage through Sihon's kingdom, and, consequently, of taking possession of it; and that he should not be able to restrain his people from pushing their conquest in that quarter to the inclusion of the rich land of Gilead, and thus induce all the future disastrous consequences above noted. Yet he may have hoped that Sihon, upon ocular demonstration of the Hebrew power, would consent to a peaceful, hasty march through the southwest corner of his kingdom, the district most thinly peopled and farthest from his capital. It may be but fancy, but the impression is too strong to be resisted, that this new plan for the invasion of Canaan was decided upon by the senate against his strong remonstrances, but, once adopted, he prosecuted it with characteristic wisdom and energy.

The first step was the sending of a deputation to the kings of Edom and Moab requesting permission to pass through their lands on the terms detailed in Numb. XX. 17. The petition to Balak is noted by Jephthah in his message to

the king of Ammon,¹ which reads throughout like a series of personal memories, as no doubt they were, for he was a son of Gilead, and if not less than fifty years of age, would easily remember the last years in Kadesh.

The refusal of Edom appears to have been from pure churlishness; but Balak might justly ground his upon his perilous relations with Sihon. To force a passage was out of the question, and the only alternative was to "compass" both Edom and Moab. As to supplies of food, there was no trouble; they were purchased of the Edomites and Moabites,² throughout the long march to the Arnon.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN.

CONCLUSION.

The B. compilers omit the date of the final departure from Kadesh. But, like the departure from Goshen, and for the same reasons, it must have been early in spring. This is confirmed indirectly by Josephus, who notes that "the most valuable part of the booty gained by the victory over Sihon was a plenteous crop of corn still unreaped." The march began, then, five or six months before. Deut. II. 14, corrected by German versions reads: The days that we wandered from Kadesh-barnea, *i. e.* (from the first arrival there) until we passed over the brook Zered, were thirty-eight years. This gives the fortieth year from Goshen, and allows one year for the transactions between the abandonment of Kadesh and the

¹ Judges xi. 17.

² Deut. ii. 29.

encampment at Gilgal under Joshua on the tenth of the first month of the next year. Is the time too short? Have we here at last a manifest error in dates?

The distances from Kadesh to the Jordan, by the route taken, was, by the maps, only about two hundred and fifty miles, that is, five miles a day for fifty days. Now, the movement was no leisurely march, with long stops to wear away the years, but one as rapid as possible, with but one long halt and such others only as were unavoidable to keep the animals in condition. It meant war, if not before, certainly, immediately after, passing the Jordan. The itinerary proves the haste of the march. East of the Seir mountains, there are but two encampments, Punon and Aboth, between Salmonah and the brook Zered, a distance of about eighty miles. Time was saved, it being the hot season of the year, making a few hours' halt at midnight and mid-day, and pushing forward during the evening and morning hours.

From Kadesh the route was as before, into and down the Arabah, and the itinerary, of course, omits the stations, they being the same, until a new one, Salmonah, is reached. At Moseroth or Mt. Hor, there was a sorrowful cause of long delay. The last survivor of the men who in Goshen had planned the conquest of Canaan, the last survivor of Amram's family of the first generation, Moses himself excepted, Aaron, died here and was buried. Eleazer was consecrated high priest, and they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel.

This encampment is also memorable as that from which the first permanent settlement by the Hebrews in their future national territory was made. There is a note of it in Numb. XXI. 1-3, one more detailed in Judges I. 16-17, and it is referred to in the itinerary v. 40. The fact is, therefore, beyond question. One of the errors pointed out and proved

by Graetz,¹ in the identifications of places by Robinson and Palmer, is that of Arad. It was much farther south than they supposed, and was, in fact, a part of the eastern Negeb, at the head of a wady that opens upon the plains south of the Dead Sea.

As the Hebrews now advanced along the caravan route into the Arabah—not “the way of the spies,” as in the English version, which the reader feels to be, and Graetz proves etymologically is, nonsense—the king of Arad watched his opportunity to make a raid upon the outskirts of their encampment, trusting for impunity to the suddenness of attack and the rapidity of retreat into the natural strongholds of the Negeb. This he found, during the general mourning for Aaron, and took captives and booty—herdsmen and cattle, no doubt. By the census at Sinai, Judah was the first and Simeon the third tribe in military force, and to them the castigation of the marauder was entrusted. It will be remembered that when the first movement from Horeb was made, Hobab with his Kenites removed from Cushan to the neighborhood of Zoar, the little city of palm trees, south of the Dead Sea. He was now dead but his family was still there. To them the topography of the eastern Negeb was, of course, minutely known, and probably, at the request of Moses they joined the expedition against Arad. The issue was fortunate. The towns and people were so utterly destroyed that the site of Zephath, the principal city, was thenceforth known as Hormah, destruction. The detachment from Judah, the Kenites and, perhaps, the Simeonites, being joined by their families and followers, established in that quarter the colony that occasioned the notice of the expedition in Judges.

When the mourning for Aaron was ended “they de-

¹ Geschichte i. 434 et seq.

parted from Mt. Hor and pitched in Salmonah." So the itinerary, which gives no clue to the point where the route turned east out of the Arabah. This is supplied by the two misplaced verses, Deut. X. 6-7, which have no possible connection with their context and interrupt the sense. (In the first of these verses there is an error of transcription in making Moseroth follow instead of precede the Beeroth [wells] of the Bene-Jaakan). It was important that the herds and flocks should leave the Arabah in the best possible condition to sustain the probable deficiency in pasturage when skirting the desert east of Edom; therefore, notwithstanding the necessity of haste, Moses, after leaving Mt. Hor, encamped successively at the wells of the Bene-Jaakan, at Hor-ha-Gidgad (or Gudgodah) and at Jotbathah, a place of abundant brooks. This was the last station in the former march before Ebrona, and about eighteen miles from Ezion-geber, near the point where, in our time, the Syrian Hadji road descends about a thousand feet by a pass into the Arabah. Here the Hebrews ascended. Fürst suggests that the name Salmonah is derived from the Hebrew "s l m," the ladder of Jacob's dream. If so, it indicates a place near the head of a pass, and confirms Burckhardt and others who identify it with Maan, a village precisely so situated, well supplied with springs.

Advancing from Salmonah in a direction a little east of north, the Hebrews pitched their third encampment at Ije-Abarim. These are the hills which, to the north, increase in height and extent and become the mountains of Abarim. The brook, Zered, has its sources in them. As the encampment was on the border of Moab, it was hard by the valley of that stream. It was not very far from the gold mines of Edom, and hence is referred to later as Di-Zahab, which Graetz translates "vicinity of the gold mines." By the air-

line to the north, it was about forty miles to the Arnon, the boundary between Moab and Sihon's kingdom.

Having lost all faith in the pillar of cloud as a guide, we are compelled to supply its place by granting Moses at least an average degree of military skill, prudence and foresight. Of the two conceptions of him, the one, that he was a mere puppet in the hands of Jahveh, the other, that he was a man of brains, we prefer the latter.

The campaign against Sihon, in fact, began at Ije-Abarim. Even General X. of the American civil war, if in Moses' place, would have perceived the necessity of an accurate knowledge of the best point for crossing the stupendous gorge of the Arnon, and sent forward competent scouts to obtain it, as Moses later "spied out" Jaesar, and Joshua, Jericho and Ai. He would also have divined the advantage of securing the pass before Sihon could collect an army and secure the passage.

But was he a man to waste days and weeks in balancing pros and cons until it was too late? Not so Grant, Sherman, Sheridan; not so Moses, who saw that, with a heavy force securely posted across the Arnon, he could demand a passage of Sihon, and, if refused, be in a position to force it.

The following account of the short, decisive campaign against him may appear to be a mere fancy sketch, but it is just what common sense dictated, and is, moreover, singularly confirmed by a much misconstrued passage in Numbers, the discussion of which being too long for insertion here is placed in Note XIII. It should be read before proceeding.

When the slow-moving multitude reached Ije-Abarim, the scouts were ready to report upon the best route to the Arnon, the best point for crossing it and a suitable site for a camp beyond. The first step was the removal of the en-

campment from the hills into the valley of the Zered, where water and herbage were abundant and, therefore, better fitted for a prolonged stay if this proved necessary. This simple transfer of the camp to a better position is naturally omitted in the itinerary.

Thirty to forty thousand is not too large an estimate of the force selected from all the tribes, under such leaders as Joshua, Caleb and Othniel, which Moses now led forward in forced marches. Like Joshua's army six months later, they had "provided victuals" for two or three weeks, borne by pack animals. Moses crossed the Arnon unopposed and, leaving Dibon to the right unmolested, for his policy still was peace, halted his army in what was afterward named by the Reubenites, the Eastern Pastures, Midbar Kedemoth.¹

It is remarkable that so little has been added to our knowledge of the main features of this section of country by recent explorers, to that afforded by Seetzen in the notes and map of his journey in 1806. All describe in much the same terms the great table-land that extends north, south and east bearing the Abarim mountains, from which flow the Jabbok, Arnon and Zered in stupendous gorges westwards into the Jordan and Dead Sea. From the position on the brow of this table-land, which, it must be assumed, Moses now occupied, the view is described as very extensive. Directly north, in the misty distance, some eighteen miles away, a great spur thrusts itself far out into the Plains of Moab and ends in a lofty knob. This is Nebo. In the mid-distance, another spur less in height, a hilly ridge, extends nearly parallel to Nebo. This is the Bamoth of Numb. XXI. 19, 20. The deep valley on its hither side is Nahaliel, the valley of God; that on the other is the broad valley "that (lies) in the field of Moab." Beyond Nebo and hidden by it, were

¹ Deut. ii. 26.

Heshbon and the other principal cities and towns of Sihon, and in that part of his kingdom dwelt the bulk of his people. Hence, the most direct course to the Jordan now, leaving the Bamoth and Nebo to the right, passed through the most thinly peopled districts. The words printed as proper names in Numb. XXI. 19-20, are not in the itinerary and are not names of stations, they are simply descriptive of the march made by the army.

Being now safely across the Arnon, Moses sent a deputation to Heshbon to obtain permission to continue his march to the Jordan under the same conditions and stipulations before offered to Edom and Moab. He reasonably hoped and expected, that a petition so moderate and backed by a force so strong would be granted, but made ready for any contingency. While awaiting Sihon's answer, the camp at the Zered was raised and pushed forward in all haste, not being again pitched until it reached the eastern pastures, which were so near Dibon Gad, that in the itinerary (v. 45) the encampment bears that name. Meantime, the scouts were examining the country along the declivities of the Abarim and searching out a practicable way across them to the Nebo ridge should war prove unavoidable, as, in fact, it became by Sihon's refusal.

From his point of view this is not surprising. He would reason thus:

Forty years ago this Hebrew people had excited an insurrection in the lands of Rameses, and, by a marvelous stroke of luck, had escaped from Egypt and made their way to Kadesh with a huge number of slaves whom they had liberated by a bloody massacre. During all these years every passing caravan brought news of them. They were cattle and sheep breeders, traders in the produce of flocks and herds, unwarlike, unable even to keep the liberated

slaves in subjection; they had secured obedience and subordination only at the cost of feeding, clothing and admitting them into their community as equals. They talked grandly of their purpose to subdue Canaan and had made one feeble effort to enter it, which was easily repelled by the Amalekites, aided by a small force of his own people, the Amorites. Since then, for a whole generation, they had wandered hither and thither, now and then torn by internal dissensions ending in sanguinary tumults. They had adopted religious laws and customs which deprived them of the sympathy of other peoples, and set up a new god of whom they could give no visible representation. Thus far this god had not dared pit himself against Baal, Chemosh, or any other national deity of those regions.

Forced at last, for reasons unknown, to abandon the region so long traversed, too cowardly to again attempt the invasion of Canaan, to force a passage through Edom or even through Moab, two-thirds of which he (Sihon) had seized and held, meekly submitting to purchase supplies which *he* would have taken by the strong hand, they had now, not knowing whither to turn, crossed the Arnon into his land and humbly petitioned for leave to pass on to the Jordan. They had invaded his kingdom and put themselves in the wrong. Their order of marching was, after so many years, well known, tribe by tribe, a procession miles in length. Their wealth, too, was well known, and their defeat in war would yield the victor booty incalculable.

Reasoning thus, Sihon was in no haste. The Hebrews would soon be compelled by famine to advance. He had but to choose his time and place, fall suddenly upon the long line and destroy it piecemeal. The leader was an old man, said to be one hundred and twenty years of age, who had as yet shown no military skill, and, rather than fight, had

tamely submitted to the insults of Edom and Moab. It was, like Hotspur's "a good plot and full of expectation, an excellent plot," but, unfortunately for Sihon, that old man's eye was not dim nor his natural force abated.

"And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border; but Sihon gathered all his people together and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and he came to Jahaz and fought against Israel. And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword."¹

Why Jahaz in the English version? All others at hand have Jahzah, like the original; except the vulgate, and that reads Jasa. This is noted because readers in general never think of identifying it with the Jahazah of Jeremiah XLVIII. 21. The rendering of Midbar by Wilderness adds to the obscurity. Consequently, the commentators make Sihon lead his army to a place in the desert near the head waters of the Arnon, and near there suffer his defeat. Even Graetz places the scene on the edge of the desert.² Yet the matter is so clear.

By the text in Jeremiah, Jahazah (Jahzah) was in the plain country of Moab; by Joshua XIII. 17, 18, it was one of the cities in the plain near Heshbon. Midbar here is not desert, but the pasture land near the town, common to its inhabitants like the suburbs of the Levitic cities for their cattle,³ or the unenclosed lands about English towns in old times, that gave to our language the noun "common."

Here, hidden as he supposed by the Nebo ridge, Sihon concentrated his army and made ready for the onset when the Hebrews should descend into the lowlands.

But from Nebo the scouts kept Moses informed of all that passed below. He, also, was in no haste. True, the

¹ Numb. xxi. 23, 24.

² Saum der Wüste.

³ Numb. xxxv. 3.

larger the army of the enemy, the greater the risk in attacking it, but he had no fear on this score; on the other hand, the larger the army defeated, so much the more complete the victory.

It was said above that Moses proposed to traverse only the most sparsely inhabited district of Sihon's kingdom. This is inferred from considerations of climate, from the lists of towns in Joshua and Jeremiah and from the topography as given on the maps.

But, south of the proposed line of march to the Jordan lay nearly the half of Sihon's territory, in which were a considerable number of towns, indicating a population of some density and a corresponding military force. Moses, therefore, awaited the arrival of the main body of his people, 30,000 of whom were soldiers, before striking Sihon. The possibility of such a campaign as Moses now contemplated had never been suspected by Sihon, and no precautions against it were taken.

It was, indeed, so remarkable that the author of the ballad in the "wars of Jahveh" gives an outline of it.

Thanks to his hints, combined with facts in the foregoing narrative, and inferences from them, it is easy to expand the meagre record of the B. compilers into a clear statement that may be assumed to be essentially the truth.

While Sihon was busy concentrating an army at Jahzah, the Hebrews arrived from the Zered and encamped in the Eastern Pastures near Dibon. The town was built on heights, and movements in the camp could not well be concealed from it; but, by the expedient of pasturing the herds and flocks with guards and keepers along a line north of it, messengers sent to Sihon could be intercepted; in like manner, all military preparations could be effectually masked in the south and west and, doubtless, were. The army to oper-

ate against Sihon was, of course, drawn in equal numbers from all the tribes, Levi excepted, and probably aggregated twenty-five or thirty thousand picked men, each tribal division under its own officers, Moses himself being commander-in-chief. An Egyptian inscription says of Ramses III., "he brake forth like the storm wind;" so now Moses, with his twelve corps, down into the gorge-like valley, Nahaliel, up and over the hilly ridge, the Bamoth, across the valley in the country of Moab, in a direct line to and up the southern declivity of the Nebo spur. Departing at day-break, the distance was not too great for the army to bivouac near the crest of the ridge that first night.

By a cursory glance over the history of the past forty years from the rising in Egypt, one perceives that of all that host, not a man, the scouts excepted, had ever beheld a scene like that which presented itself in the morning as they came upon the summit. To the right, on a proud eminence, Heshbon, the capital; far and wide towns and villages; fields white with the harvest; plantations of olives, figs, pomegranates; the whole, a land flowing with milk and honey; yonder, covering the midbar of Jahzah, Sihon's army, a resolute attack upon which would make all they saw their own; defeat it, and hardship and privation would be exchanged for ease and plenty.

At this point, we judge, Moses gave the lead to Joshua, he himself remaining on Nebo to watch the result and be ready for any emergency. The attack was irresistible but the particulars of the battle are nowhere recorded. The D. compilers make Moses describe its results thus: "Jahveh, our Elohim, delivered him (Sihon) up before us, and we smote him and his sons and all his people. And we took all his cities at that time and utterly destroyed the men and the women and the little ones; of every city we let none

remain. Only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves and the spoil of the cities which we took." The Hebrews had then no use for slaves, and the wretched inhabitants were devoted to indiscriminate slaughter. It was, as we apprehend, the display of his great qualities by Joshua in this and the other campaigns east of the Jordan, that made him, with no word of dissent, the successor of his great master.

Graetz is of opinion that Exodus XV. 14-16, refers to this battle, and translates the passage thus:

"The peoples heard it and trembled;
Terror seized the inhabitants of Philistia;
Then were the tribes of Edom dismayed;
A great quaking fell upon the princes of Moab;
The dwellers in Canaan despaired;
At the greatness of thine arm
Became they rigid as stone."

Leaving the further prosecution of the war in that quarter to his subordinates, Moses hastened back to the camp to order a like successful campaign south to the Arnon. Thus Israel possessed the land from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the daughters (villages) thereof."¹

The value of this rich and fertile country as a basis of operations across the Jordan is so manifest that a formal act of taking permanent possession should cause no surprise. The fact is attested by the "Song of the Well, composed and sung when the Hebrews, for the first time, in the late territory of the Amorites, dug a well, and thereby made it understood that they purposed holding it as a permanent possession. The elders of the families were present with their slaves, from which circumstance the place took the name Beer-elim—the Princes' well."²

¹ Numb. xxi. 24-5.

² Graetz, *Gesch.* i. 56. Isaiah xv. 8.

There is no evidence, we think, that Moses had changed his mind upon the impolicy of trans-Jordan conquests, though he could make no objection to holding what was already gained; but now, one would think, was the time to push forward across the river, before the trembling peoples could recover from the shock given by Sihon's destruction. But the princes had fleshed their swords. The rich lands of Jaesar, Bashan and Gilead, renowned for its balsam, excited their cupidity. They were willing to leave Moab and Ammon in peace; but why leave two large bodies of Amorites as enemies in their rear? Why, for a few months, until the winter was past, should not they and all their people, after so many years of privation, indulge in a period of rest and recreation, and of enjoyment in the plenty their swords had gained and would vastly augment by the proposed campaigns? Whatever may have been the opinion of Moses in this case, the decision was to seize the remaining Amorite lands.

Their invasion was ordered and the war began. These military operations and the approaching rainy season, from October to March or even April, compelled the postponement of the invasion of Canaan until spring. The choice of a site for the camp during the next five or six months was an important matter. The one selected was in the plains of Moab that lie upon the Jordan by Jericho, where it remained until after the decease of Moses.

But in what part of those plains?

By the itinerary, it was the third station from Dibon-gad. The first was Almon-Diblathaim, the Beth-Diblathaim of Jeremiah XLVII. 22, which groups it with Dibon-gad and Nebo; the second was at the foot of, by or near (not in, as in the English versions) the mountains of Abarim, that is, in the valley of Moab before coming to Nebo. By the

maps, these stations were farther apart than a normal day's journey; but the dispersion in all directions of the military forces and the laboring classes—the latter employed in securing the Amorite crops, the vintage and like occupations, with the removal of the herds and flocks to the various *midbars*—had reduced the camp to a mere skeleton of the great body that for so many years had been compelled to keep together for subsistence and the common security; therefore, the day's march could be prolonged. Taking this fact into consideration, the itinerary is clearly trustworthy and correct thus far. One more station closes this invaluable record. As there was no occasion for haste nor reason for passing a night in bivouac, it was but one day's journey from the preceding in the valley of Moab, and this places it somewhere on the direct line from Nebo to the Jordan. It is not a matter of interest merely, but one of importance for its bearing on certain questions, whether or not this last trans-Jordan encampment was where the itinerary thus places it. By general consent of recent explorers and cartographers it was not. The question, therefore, comes up: Can the itinerary, here also, be vindicated? It reads in the English version, "pitched in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho;" in Philippon, "on the Jordan by Jericho;" in the Vienna Bible, the same; in Allioli's Vulgate, "on the Jordan opposite Jericho;" the English revised version, "by the Jordan at Jericho;" Numb. XXII. 1, reads, "on this side Jordan by Jericho;" Philippon, "this side the Jordan towards Jericho;" Vienna Bible, "beyond the Jordan by Jericho;" Allioli, "where beyond the Jordan Jericho lies;" R. V., "beyond the Jordan at Jericho."

"And Jahveh spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho;"¹ Philippon, "on the Jordan by

¹ Numb. xxxiii. 50, xxxv. 1.

Jericho;" Vienna Bible, the same; Allioli (second citation), "on the Jordan opposite Jericho;" R. V., "by the Jordan at Jericho." As the town is several miles west of the river, we are at a loss to understand this persistent "at Jericho."

The itinerary continues (v. 49), "and they pitched by the Jordan from Beth-jesimoth even until Abelshittim in the plains of Moab," and here the various versions agree. These citations are thus brought together because the closing words, by, near, at, etc., Jericho, have been understood to relate to the camp, whereas, on comparing the texts, it is seen at a glance that they refer to the plains, viz: the plains of Moab that lie along the Jordan by or near Jericho. The suspicion is strong, that this error is a principal reason for the accepted identification of Abelshittim with the low-lying tract of moist land that really is directly opposite Jericho across the Jordan. Dr. Post writes (April, 1886), that after a night in camp at the new bridge near Jericho, "we crossed into the plain of Shittim," as into a well known locality. He botanized in its swamps, and at night camped "in a most insalubrious site." The only grounds for this identification that we have been able to discover, are the error just noted and the name. The reasoning seems to be this: Abel-ha-Shittim signifies, the meadow of the acacias; among the marshes of this tract are meadows where these trees grow, and elsewhere in the plains they are not found (?), therefore, 3,000 years ago they grew here and not elsewhere; consequently, the Hebrews pitched their camp on this spot. The argument seems to be of the weakest.

It was now the hot season of the year; could a prudent commander place his camp, the abode of the princes and their families, on low, marshy ground, where drainage was impossible, expose it to malaria from swamps and marshes now, and to inundation in the approaching season of rains?

Could he establish it where every southerly breeze brought from the Dead Sea, hardly a dozen miles distant, those terrible, scorching winds described by Lieut. Lynch, as blistering his men's faces, those pestiferous winds that caused the deaths of the explorer Costigan and Lieut. Molyneux of the royal navy? The whole valley is more than 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; could Moses have selected its most deadly point, the shores of the Dead Sea excepted, for a sojourn of months?

We find nowhere any difference of opinion upon the position of Beth-ha-Jesimoth. All the authorities place it on a line due west from Nebo, and about a dozen miles distant. "They pitched from Bethjesimoth unto Abelshittim," a distance of at least eight miles, if the identification of the latter be correct, which, in the present reduced dimensions of the camp, is preposterous. But we, long since, learned that the central line of the encampment—its axis, so to speak—was east and west; it is, therefore, an inference of common sense, that these two places lay in that direction from each other—that is, Abelshittim was on the line between Bethjesimoth and Nebo.

When Joshua, the next spring, on the ninth day of the first month, raised the camp, he "arose early in the morning, and they removed from Shittim and came to Jordan, he and all the children of Israel, and lodged (bivouacked) there." This one day's march accords with Josephus, who gives the distance as sixty stadia, about eight miles, and thus makes Joshua's point of departure the site reached by the one day's march from the valley of Moab.

But Abel does not necessarily signify meadow; in the sense of a low, moist parcel of land, any smooth grassy plot is an *abel*. In Genesis L. 11, the threshing floor of Atad, where animals trod out grain, is named Abel-Mizraim. In

Judges VII. 22, I. Kings IV. 12, XIX. 16, Abel-Meholah is the lawn for round dances. In Judges XI. 33, we have the Abel of the vineyards; and in I. Sam. VI. the great stone in the field of Joshua v. 14, is, in v. 18, the stone in the Abel.

It is, therefore, submitted, that the site of this last encampment east of the Jordan was three or four miles from Nebo on the direct line to Bethjesimoth, and that a grove of acacias, in or near which, the tabernacle, the senate tent, and the sub-camp of Moses, Eleazar and the priests were pitched, gave it its name.

It was an admirable selection. It was very near the exact geographical center of Sihon's kingdom, and runners or mounted men could convey orders and bring tidings to and from the most distant points in a very few hours. It was high and dry, for the ground not only slopes away to the west, but also to the right and left as the water courses on the maps show, and the drainage was perfect. The lofty lime and sandstone cliffs that line the eastern shore of the Dead Sea protected it from that sea's suffocating blasts, and it lay open to every cool breeze from the mountains—from Moab around by Lebanon to those of Judea. At no other point could the princely and other great families in camp receive so conveniently from their retainers, scattered in all directions, their supplies and luxuries. The column of smoke from the morning sacrifices was conspicuous far beyond the limits of the camp; and the summit of Nebo was conveniently near for the priest and Levites appointed to watch for the appearance of the new moon, and gave them, also, for their western horizon, the mountains of Judea and Samaria. Their signal fire needed few answering flames to announce in all parts of the new conquest, the celebration by burnt and drink offerings at the tabernacle, of the "beginnings of the months."¹

¹ Numb. xxviii, 11, et seq.

The compilers having compressed all the exodus history from the death of Miriam to the establishment of the encampment at Abel-ha-Shittim into two short chapters, now devote more than double that space to the story of Balaam and the Midianites.¹ Balaam (Corrupter, Fürst), they appear to have conceived as an Edomite, dwelling with the Ammonites.²

Balak, king of Moab, terror-stricken by the prowess of the Hebrews, fearing their vengeance for his recent churlishness, and being too feeble to take the field against them, consulted with Midianite sheiks upon the possibility of devising means to drive them out of the land. Balaam had a local reputation as a sorcerer, possessing power by his incantations of affecting the character and condition of entire communities, changing heroes to cowards, success to defeat. To him a joint deputation of elders of Moab and Midian was sent with the rewards of divination in their hand, to beseech him to come and curse Israel. None know better than sorcerers themselves the hollowness of their pretension to supernatural power, and Balaam shrewdly saved his reputation by keeping the deputies over night, that, as he said, he might consult with Jahveh. Perfectly well acquainted with all the movements and successes of the Hebrews, his answer the next morning was, of course, "Jahveh refuseth to give me leave to go with you." The story is too familiar to need repetition here, but it is desired that the reader before proceeding refresh his memory by a deliberate and thoughtful perusal of the introductory chapter (XXII.) which, if taken to be strictly historic, very greatly perplexes the present writer. That—

1. Balaam, the idolater, consults with the god of the

¹ Numb.xxii. to xxv. and xxxi.

² See Note xiv.

Hebrews, Jahveh, (v. 8, et seq.), and names him Jahveh-Elohi—Jahveh my god (v. 18).

2. On the second visit of the deputation he consults Jahveh; Elohim commands him to go with it, and he obeys; the anger of Elohim was kindled because he went, and the angel of Jahveh placed himself in the way for an adversary against him. One certainly misses the jewel of consistency here.

3. The conversation between Balaam, the ass and the angel, follows. Balaam's life having been saved by the ass, the sorcerer confesses his sin (in obeying the command to go?) and offers to return; but now the angel of Jahveh has changed his mind, orders him to go and adds, "but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak."

4. We are not informed who reported all the minute particulars detailed, nor how they came to the knowledge of the Levite scribes to be put on record for use long centuries afterwards in Babylon.

5. Balak conspired with the wandering Midianites. Why should they join in a plot against Israel? Substitute Ammonites for Midianites and there is a motive for them to join with Moab, namely, the hope of recovering their old territory.¹

6. Balak met his guest at the head waters of the Arnon, and took him to Kirjath-huzoth (K. of the steppes says Fürst; of the boundaries, Philippon), a town on the border, and feasted him and the princes on slaughtered oxen and sheep. Next day he took him to "the high places of Baal that thence he might see the utmost of the people." Why this has been interpreted as "only the utmost part of them" is not clear, and v. 12, of the next chapter is against it. The Arnon was Balak's boundary, and the Hebrew camp stood

¹ Judges xi. 13.

twenty miles away north of it; can the naked eye distinguish a camp at that distance? Suppose it can; north of the river there are ten or twelve miles of table-land more than two thousand feet above the level of Abel-ha-Shittim; of what height then must the mountain be from which the camp could be visible? No description of Moab, no map notes such a peak. It will be said that this is not pertinent, because all the authorities agree that the Baal-heights (Bamoth Baal) in question were north of the Arnon, in the conquered territory. Be it so; perhaps the authorities are not here guided by a divine, unerring inspiration.

By the first commands of the Decalogue, by Ex. XXII. 20, XXIII. 24, and by the instructions in Numb. XXXIII. 52, all images, shrines and symbols of pagan worship were to be razed; and he that sacrificed to any god save Jahveh in Hebrew territory was to be utterly destroyed. Had Moses neglected any or all these provisions of the law, which he himself had promulgated, and which he so urged upon his successor? This cannot be supposed; and if not, the continuation of the Balaam narrative is more perplexing.

Balak, then, according to the authorities, accompanied by all the princes of Moab, by servants, laborers and herdsmen driving animals for sacrifice, brought Balaam to a lofty eminence, whence the entire camp of the Hebrews was visible, caused seven altars to be there erected, and sacrificed a bullock and a ram on each. Balaam then went apart to a high place where Elohim met him, and Jahveh "put a word in his mouth." From this eminence Balak took the whole company to a second spot where the camp was but partially visible, and there the ceremonies and Balaam's interview with Jahveh were repeated; thence to a third where the ceremonies only are repeated, for Balaam this time, "went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but set his face

towards the *midbar* and saw Israel abiding, according to their tribes."

The story is so told as to imply that all this occurred on the morrow after Balaam's arrival, and paraphrases of it show that very recent writers so understand it; moreover, all agree that the three scenes of the transactions were Bamoth-Baal, Pisgah and Baal-peor, the position of which both old and new maps give with small difference, and we believe substantially correct.

Let us now, in fancy, accompany Balak. He has passed the night at Kiriath on the boundary near the head waters of the Arnon. Early in the morning the numerous company, following of necessity the route of Moses' army a few months before, moves via the the eastern *midbar* and Nahaliel to a point of the hilly ridge south of Nebo, Bamoth-Baal, whence the Hebrew encampment is visible some six or eight miles distant. This morning march was by map or air-line, at the least, sixteen to eighteen miles. Here they remained to construct seven altars, sacrifice on each a bullock and a ram, Balaam to have his interview with Jahveh, and return to bless instead of curse.

Balak, disappointed and angry, now moved with all his company to Pisgah, whence but a part of the Hebrew camp was visible (v. 13). The way thither was down into and then across the valley of Moab, and up the lofty acclivity of Abarim, another air-line distance of a dozen miles or more. Here, again, seven altars, sacrifices, and blessings for curses. From Pisgah to Baal-peor the shortest route is down into the valley of Moab and past the Hebrew camp, another map-line distance of a dozen miles at least. If the country had been a dead level with a smooth surface, the distances supposed to be traversed that day aggregated all of forty miles; but it is a broken country, with hills and mountains to

ascend and descend, and with a thousand inequalities of surface to lengthen the way; yet time is found to erect twenty-one altars, offer sacrifices, and for Balaam to make speeches. Were we not expressly informed, "there was no day like that before it nor after it," when the sun and moon stood still for Joshua, it might, perhaps, be contended that those luminaries, grateful for Balak's sacrifices, gave him a day adequate to his need. As it is, the authorities perplex us sadly on this point.

Any map of that country, old or new, gives the position of the Arnon and the Jabbok with sufficient accuracy to show that the three supposed sites of Balak's altars were from eighteen to twenty miles air-line within what was now Hebrew territory. From them all, the erection of the altars and the smoke of the sacrifices were visible in the encampment and to myriads of the Hebrew people employed in various quarters. The movements of Balak, also, were under the eyes of thousands, including Moses and the senate. Had Moses placed no garrison at Dibon, no corps at the passes of the Arnon? Had he left his boundary defenceless against invasion? If not guilty of such military folly, had he given Balak permission to enter his territories? Did he allow him to encamp quietly after his incantations on Bamoth-Baal, Pisgah and Baal-peor, and then retire unmolested? Or did Balak make three expeditions from Moab into the Hebrew conquest without let or hindrance?

What terms are adequate to describe the supineness of a military commander who allows an enemy thus to invade his land; of a law-giver, so stern and inflexible as to punish his nephews with death for a breach of ceremonial law, yet allows Balak thus maliciously to insult him and his God Jahveh with impunity?

One more remark, and the reader shall be left to study the story of Balaam for himself.

Balaam's speeches are all in classical Hebrew poetry, a very remarkable fact, which Dr. Briggs explains satisfactorily to certain classes of readers, as being inspirations of Messianic prophecy directly from Jahveh.¹ With another class the doctor's speculations on the relations between Balaam and Jahveh excite a smile of amusement, but let that pass; in his next edition, perhaps, he will inform us, who took down these improvisations and reported them to the Hebrews.

All this exceeding perplexity in which we are involved, is caused solely by taking the story of Balaam for a historic record, on which hypothesis there is no possible escape from it. Suppose, however, we assume it to be a poem or series of poems, framed in a pseudo-historic narrative, written long afterwards and cast into the form of an ancient prophecy, the object being to glorify Israel and eulogize the reigning king, and all perplexity disappears. It is instantly seen to be a noble production of the Hebrew muse, and falls into the class of writings to which the story of Joseph belongs. It may be omitted from the text, and the verses which precede and follow still make perfect sense. "And the children of Israel set forward and pitched in the plains of Moab on this side Jordan opposite Jericho . . . And Israel abode in Shittim, etc."

From the internal evidence, the story of Balaam may have been produced in that grand period of Hebrew literature, the reign of Hezekiah. It is another proof, we apprehend, of the hitherto unsuspected revision of the Great Roll of the B. compilers, when large additions were inserted. But, whenever written, neither this nor any other of the ad-

¹ Messianic Prophecy, p. 104, et seq.

ditions is supposed to have been composed with an intent to deceive, nor is it believed that contemporary readers were deluded. No American has ever taken Joel Barlow's "Vision of Columbus" for an old prophecy, nor Longfellow's "Miles Standish" for history.

The fact of some sort of historic basis to the story is not to be doubted. Joshua's (if the last of his speeches be genuine), Micah's and the D. compilers' allusions to it were all before the B. compilers wrote, and, therefore, independent of them. The very numerous passages relating to cursing and curses from Genesis to Malachi, prove how widespread and deeply rooted was the superstition on which Balak acted, and we see no reason to doubt that he, with the king of Ammon, sent a deputation to call Balaam. But we hold this to have been secretly done; for there is nothing to show that he had exhibited hostility to the Hebrews, or that friendly relations between them and the Moabites had been interrupted, since, as before stated, Balak's refusal to grant a passage through his land may have been simply from his fear of Sihon.

Twice, Moses is made to speak of Balaam's counsel to seduce the children of Israel to Baal worship by the agency of the Midianite women;¹ both passages are of doubtful authority, but nowhere is it intimated that he knew of the complicity of Balak. This was a later discovery.

In the division of the forty-eight Levitic "cities" as they are pompously called, four were allotted to the tribes of Reuben.² They were the local centers of such learning and literature as then existed, and there, facts of history were collected and put upon record. As this allotment was made less than a dozen years after the death of Moses, the

¹ Numb. xxxi. 16. Deut. xxxiii. 4.

² Joshua xxxi. 36, 37.

heads of the little communities all had personal memories of the Amorite wars and the Baal business that followed.

The relations between the trans-Jordan tribes and their neighbors were for a time peaceable, and Balak's mission to Balaam could easily become known to the Levites and noted. They, of course, knew every rood of surface in that district, and could never have written a story so topographically absurd as that of Balaam, but their notes upon him were sufficient foundation upon which the splendid Hebrew imagination could construct the vivid poem, which is as regardless of geography 'as the novelette which Shakespeare followed in the *Winter's Tale*. Or they may have learned the fact somewhat later when a successor of Balak, Eglon, subjugated Reuben, crossed the Jordan and possessed Jericho.

Be this as it may, nothing could be effected against the Hebrews now by force, and if the effort to injure them by cursing was really made it had proved impotent, and another sort of magic to weaken them was resorted to, which by the same Levitic authority, was devised by Balaam. The account of it occupies the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers and, as we have it, begins with an error of transcription—daughters of Moab for Midian—and with falsely charging all Israel with a transgression that from the nature of the case was confined to a limited number of a single class.

The strictness of the Hebrew law, the terrible punishments that had been inflicted for breaches of it, and its utter intolerance of any divine worship but that of Jahveh, were notorious. Balaam reasoned that, if any large number of the younger generation of princes and sons of great families could be seduced to the worship of Baal, they would combine, and, with their followers and dependents, resist by force any attempt to punish them; that thus a religious rebel-

lion might be excited and fomented, ending in internecine war, and that the Baal party might at last call Moab and Ammon to its assistance and form a confederation too strong to be successfully resisted by Moses. Possibly this might have been the case had Moses been less vigilant and had time permitted. The situation must have been essentially this: The battle of Jahaz having been fought at the time of the summer harvest, and the subjugation of Sihon's kingdom of Jaesar and Bashan since then completed, it was now getting late in the autumn. Bodies of soldiers were, as a matter of course, stationed at central points and along the borders to secure order and for the general security. The officers were, also, of course, Hebrews of the pure blood, scions of "the House of Israel," who had grown to manhood under the restraints of the Mosaic law.

Active military operations had ceased, and these officers, far from the encampment at Abel-ha-Shittim and beyond its direct observation and restraints, lived an idle life. In these considerations lie the key to Balaam's devices.

"The Israelites had, during their wanderings in the wilderness, held kindly relations with the roving tribes of the Midianites, who came into the encampments and tents of the Hebrews without exciting distrust. By the advice of Balaam and the invitation of Balak, many Midianites now came to the tents of the Israelites and brought their wives and daughters. They invited the Hebrew men and youth to the celebration of their heathen festivals at a shrine of Baal-peor. It was a custom, on these occasions, for the women, in a tent for the purpose, to sacrifice their chastity and purchase with the proceeds offerings to the idols." So Graetz:¹ But this could not have occurred at the encampment proper under the eyes of Moses and the priests, nor could the shrine

¹ Geschichte i. 54.

have been upon the Baal-peor of the maps in plain view from Abel-ha-Shittim. Transfer the scenes of the temptation to the outposts, and the story is reasonable. The young officers, for the first time in their lives having unlimited gratification of carnal instincts offered them on the easy condition of crossing the boundary to some old or improvised shrine of Peor or Astarte, and there joining in the feasts of meat offered to idols, found the temptation too strong to be resisted. The fact is attested by Hosea (IX. 10):

Like grapes in the desert
 I found Israel;
 Like early figs in Spring¹
 I saw your fathers:
 But when they came to Baal-peor
 They devoted themselves to the shameless goddess
 And were corrupted through fleshly lust.

—Graetz's translation.

This strengthens the false impression conveyed by the first verses of Numb. XXV., namely, that the Hebrews, as a whole, were still congregated in the camp, and there suddenly turned from Jahveh to Baal-peor. It is apparent on a moment's reflection, that the Midianite women and girls could not have ventured into the camp for their vile purpose, and that their seductions could only have affected the younger men and youth, and of them only such as had opportunity to visit shrines beyond the border secretly, and wealth to pay for the siren's favors. Short, confused, exaggerated, incredible as the story told in the biblical text is, we hold it to be true, to the extent above indicated.

We have learned to trust the recorded dates and accept without hesitation that of Joshua's encampment at Gilgal the next spring, the 10th Nisan, which is supported by the

¹ See Note xv.

fact that all the great movements thus far have begun at the close of the rainy season, in March or April. Taking into consideration the events of this year still to be narrated, there was no sufficient time for the supposed general corruption, even if not countervailed in the encampment by the daily sacrifice, the sabbath ceremonies and the regular Jahveh worship. Nor could the doings at the military posts long be concealed; the disorders must soon have become known to the higher authorities. There is, in fact, no escaping the conviction, that the duration of the evil was very limited and that the number of the offenders was comparatively small.

Moses had not the power to judge, condemn and execute non-Levites, this being the prerogative of the heads of the tribes. He, therefore, called the senate together, laid the matter before it and demanded the same stern execution of the law now, as when he had put to death his own nephews for an offense far less grave than the present. The families of the accused, at the door of the great tent, were weeping and praying for mercy. The senate appears to have hesitated; but, if so, was suddenly aroused to decisive action.

Zimri ben Salu, a Simeonite prince, passed the open tent of meeting in sight of Moses and the whole assembly, conducting Cozbi, daughter of Zur, a Midianite sheik, through the center of the camp to his quarters. This evidently premeditated insult to the highest authorities, this contemptuous bravado was too much. Phineas, son of Eleazar the high priest, left his place in the senate, seized a javelin, followed Zimri to his tent, and pinned prince and harlot to the earth. Josephus gives us a long speech by Zimri before the senate, abounding in insults to Moses and pretending to plead for liberty of conscience. He is as

fond of long speeches as Thucydides. The senate executed the law relentlessly. If the reader prefers a literal acceptance of the text, Jahveh executed it by one of his convenient plagues. "And those that died of the plague were twenty and four thousand"—a number reduced by Josephus to fourteen thousand. Who does not perceive that even this is a huge exaggeration? Yet it is insignificant compared with those in the sequel to the story.¹ The compilers have introduced the second census before this sequel; their order is here changed to present the matter more clearly.

The part acted by Balak being unknown, the Midianites only were made the object of the general thirst for vengeance. A force of 12,000 men, one thousand from each tribe, was organized and sent across the border against them. Small as it was, "they slew all the males. And they slew the kings of Midian, Eri and Bekem and Zur and Hur and Reba, five kings of Midian; Balaam also the son of Beor, they slew with the sword, and the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captive and their little ones and took the spoil of all their cattle and all their flocks and all their goods. And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt and all their goodly castles (encampments R. V.) with fire" (v. 7-10). The officers reported to Moses: "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war which are under our charge and there lacketh not a man of us." The victory was, on the part of the Hebrews, bloodless.

The statistics of the booty are given in detail:

Sheep.....	875,000
Beeves	72,000
Asses.....	61,000
Virgins (captive).	32,000

The credibility of all this may be tested by this last

¹Chap. xxxi.

item. We turn again to the census of Massachusetts (1880), not that its tables give us the precise point sought, but they enable us indirectly to ascertain it with sufficient accuracy for the present purpose.

- a) The people of the state numbered.....1,783,055
- b) Those of fifteen years and under..... 249,686
- c) Take the half of these for females..... 124,843
- d) One-fourth of these is (in round numbers).... 31,000

Now as *c* represents *a*, *d* represents one-fourth of *a*, that is, in round numbers, 445,000.

In hot countries the age of puberty in girls is twelve years; indeed, so far north as Trieste, mothers at thirteen are known. As large numbers of the Midianite girls of fifteen and under had sold themselves to Baal-peor, the 32,000 virgins represent a far greater number than the 31,000 girls in Massachusetts—at the lowest computation not less than half a million.

Sir Richard Burton assured the writer that the Bedouins, nomads like the Midianites, and rangers over the same vast deserts, are an unfruitful race, not averaging more than three children to a family. One in five of such a people, "able to go forth to war," is a very low estimate, but taking it, the military force was 100,000 men. As to the other sex, we will err on the safe side and only estimate them at 200,000, that is, two in five; and the boys, "the little ones," at 20,000. No objection to these proportions in half a million of souls can be made on the score of exaggeration.

There is no point of ancient geography better ascertained than that Edom, Moab and Ammon bordered upon that great desert, Arabia Petrea, in an oasis of which Solomon founded Tadmor, in later times Palmyra. Where, then, were the Midianite cities, the fixed habitations of half a million of souls, the pastures for so vast a number of

domestic animals? The only land of Midian, if there was one, where the people dwelt in towns, is that on the eastern shore of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Akabah; for all the territory north of that parallel was desert or inhabited by well-known peoples. In the light of these remarks we turn again to the biblical text, bearing in mind that the time is after taking the census and, therefore, very near the end of the year, in the height of the rainy season.

According to the text, then, the twelve thousand departed for that land in which the Midianites had permanent residence and dwelt in cities. The route was that by which they had come north in the earlier months of the same year, as far as Salmonah, and thence down the coast of the Gulf of Akabah, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, to their destination. There they surprised, took and burnt the cities, and slew all the males of a population of 500,000 at least, the infant boys excepted. The females were collected into one great company, numbering women, girls and "little ones" of both sexes, as above estimated, not less than 220,000. The domestic animals were also brought together from all parts of Midian into one vast herd numbering 808,000.

How this multitude was supplied with food, how protected from the inclemency of the rainy season, is left entirely to the imagination.

No information is vouchsafed us beyond the statement: "And they brought the captives and the prey and the spoil unto Moses and Eleazar the priest and unto the congregation (assembly or senate) of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by Jordan near Jericho" (v. 12). Nor is there a hint to be found as to the time employed in the expedition. We are left as much in the dark as to how it could have been effected before the

decease of Moses as we are how the Hebrews, forty years before, those two millions of people, came up after midnight from all over Goshen, some from Zoan, etc., gathering at Succoth, and were yet able to push forward the same night. It requires time to conduct 220,000 women and children and drive 808,000 animals along desert paths, in the rainy season, two hundred and fifty miles.

"And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host" for saving the women alive, and issued a peremptory order" to kill every male among the little ones and every woman who was not a virgin. The virgins were found to number 32,000; the number therefore massacred in those plains of Moab, in cold blood, was 188,000 (220,000—32,000).

What if "the Bible says so?" Does any reader, candidly speaking, affirm that he really believes all this?

The underlying facts, as we apprehend them, can be given in a paragraph.

In the story of Joseph, the word "Ishmaelites"¹ is so manifestly an anachronism that the targums correct it to Arabae. They make the sense clear: the brethren of Joseph saw in the distance an Arab caravan approaching from Gilead, and soon the merchantmen, Midianites, passed by, etc. Thus the author of the story, in giving it local coloring, confirms what is made probable from other sources, that the trade between this section of country and Egypt was mainly in the hands of the Midianites.

The conquest of this country by the Hebrews drew that trading folk thither in larger numbers than usual, in the reasonable hope of obtaining the stores of "spicery, balm and myrrh" at small cost. They may have been six or eight thousand in number—men, women and children—scattered in camps along the border at places convenient for traffic.

¹Gen. xxxvii. 25.

Having free access as old acquaintances and traders to the Hebrew posts and markets, they brought their wives and daughters with them, who thus had opportunity to make assignations with the officers and wealthy young men at shrines outside, where they withheld their favors until after compliance with those forms of Peor worship by which they justified their lewdness. No reason is discovered for doubt that Cozbi is an authentic name; that she was the daughter of Zur; that "he was head of a people and of a chief house of Midian;" nor that the five kings named, including Zur, were real personages, slain by the Hebrew sword. Particulars of this sort, the Levites were fond of recording. What the kings of the Pentateuch were we all know. Joshua destroyed thirty-one of them in the small land of Canaan. Twelve thousand men, led very probably by Joshua, taking the Midianite camps by surprise, may well have destroyed all the men and taken the women and children captives, without losing a man.

The necessity of guarding against future dissension by a solemn covenant determining the mode of dividing the future conquest, if successful, among the tribes, has before been noted as having been one of the preliminaries to the movement from Goshen. The question now again came up, under somewhat changed conditions, for final settlement. For as soon as the rainy season was over the invasion was to begin.

The tribes of Reuben, Gad—associated since the original arrangement of the grand camp at Horeb—and the Machir-Gilead half of Manasseh now joined in a petition for leave to remain in and possess all the trans-Jordan conquests. This was finally conceded on their covenanting to send a reasonable contingent to the army of invasion to serve until the end of the war. It was a very unfortunate concession,

It is true that it could not be foretold how long after crossing the Jordan the encampment would remain stationary on the plain of Jericho, nor to how great an extent it would have to depend upon those fertile districts for supplies; but all the advantages of possession could be secured by detachments of soldiers and laborers from all the tribes, and thus making cultivation and defence the common duty and interest. To retain possession was wise and prudent; the error lay in making it tribal, and thus abandoning the original intention of establishing *all* the tribes between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. But for this, the confederation had, or would soon have, attained the strength to seize the Philistine coast, and the new nation would have become a maritime people. Two old poems, known as the Blessings of Jacob and Moses, preserve the tradition that such a hope was entertained at the outset in Goshen.¹

There remained, therefore, nine tribes and half Manasseh to be considered in the division of the proposed conquest, the limits of which had long before been determined.²

It was now agreed and settled that:

1. A prince of each tribe interested, with Eleazer the high priest and Joshua, twelve in all, should superintend and conduct the division.
2. The whole territory should form ten districts, not of areas equal in extent, but so far as possible, all things considered, of equal value.
3. The apportionment should be by lot.
4. The extent of allotments should be in proportion to the numbers of the tribes to which they fell. These two stipulations strike one as incompatible, but an old and rea-

¹ Gen. xlix. 13. Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19.

² Numb. xiii. 21, 29. xxxiv. 1, et seq.

sonable rabbinical explanation harmonizes them, viz: the districts were not intended to be fixed and unalterable in their limits, but only generally defined; and, after the lots were drawn, the boundaries were to be adjusted by the board of princes to meet the requirement of the fourth article. The evidence is strong—it seems, indeed, conclusive—that the appointment by lot was in the end so greatly modified to meet the wishes of the tribes as to have been in fact but nominal; it is a matter, however, belonging to a later period and, therefore, beyond the limits of this essay.¹

5. The “numbers of the tribes” were not their aggregates of both sexes old and young, but of the military forces, so that the extent of a tribal “inheritance” should be in proportion to that tribes’ power of destroying or subduing any remnant of the Canaanites in it, and of defending it.

A necessary preliminary to such a partition of Canaan, therefore, was a military census; and the question came up, when should it be taken?

Few, on first thoughts, would answer otherwise, than after the conquest, when the business should be taken in hand. Yet it was not so decided, and for good reasons.

By Numb. XXXIII. 54, supported by other passages, and by the case of Zelophehad’s daughters, the tribal possession was to be subdivided, also by *lot* among the great families and their branches. The care in the past and the solicitude for the future, to keep the tribes distinct and separate, has before been noted. Now, it might well happen, that the losses in the field during the war of conquest might be so disproportioned among the tribes as to subvert their present military rank, and some of the smaller thus accidentally have at the end of the war a superiority in the number of their fighting men over other tribes whose total

¹ See Note xvi.

numbers were a third or half greater. This would give them a claim to the larger districts, tribes far more numerous would be compressed into narrower limits, and the widows and families of men fallen in battle would be deprived of inheritances to which they had just claims, and left without adequate means of subsistence; for they would not be allowed to migrate into the more sparsely peopled districts of the smaller tribes and receive possessions there. It was, therefore, justly determined that the census should be taken now at Abel-Shittim and be the basis of the future allotments.

We hold all this to be so just and reasonable, especially when viewed in connection with previous results of our genealogical chronology, as effectually to refute the assertions of Goethe and others, that this story of the second census is but a fable devised to support a series of antecedent fables.

By the organization at Rephidim, the people were divided into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. The tribal numbers in both censuses, as reported in the Hebrew text, all end in ciphers; and after dropping the cipher, there are but two exceptions, Gad in the first and Reuben in the second. This indicates that the enumeration in both cases was made by tens, that is, that ten was the unit. Should any learned Hebraist honor this essay with a perusal and make merry over this, the writer transfers the ridicule to Rabbi Philippon whose suggestion it is. It is here introduced as warranting the query, whether 6,000 tens in the original record were not later taken for so many hundreds, and thus 60,000 became 600,000 males of twenty years old and upwards, begetting the absurdity of 3,000,000 of Hebrew slaves in Goshen. It is for the learned Hebraist to decide.

The two censuses, minus a cipher of course, are here tabulated for comparison.

Standard	Tribes	1st Census	2d Census	Increase	Decrease
Judah	Judah	7,460	7,650	190	
	Issachar	5,440	6,430	990	
	Zebulon	5,740	6,050	310	
		18,640	20,130	1,490	
Dan	Dan	6,270	6,440	170	
	Asher	4,150	5,340	1,190	
	Naphtali	5,340	4,540		800
		15,760	16,320	1,360	800
Reuben	Reuben	4,650	4,373		277
	Simeon	5,930	2,220		3,710
	Gad	4,565	4,050		515
		15,145	10,643		4,502
Ephraim	Ephraim	4,050	3,250		800
	Manasseh	3,220	5,270	2,050	
	Benjamin	3,540	4,560	1,020	
		10,810	13,080	3,070	800
Totals		60,355	60,173	5,920	6,102

Showing a total decrease of 182.

The first census was found to be credible, as to the second there are very grave doubts. Between them nearly forty years elapsed, during which, as we read, all males, except Joshua, Caleb and the Levites, of twenty years and upwards, died. By far the greater part passed away in the due course of nature; for the deaths in the affair of the golden calf were before the first census, those at Taberah were confined to the mixed multitude, and probably also the greater part of those who were surfeited or poisoned by the quails. The losses that effected the second census directly were: 1. The defeat of those who, against the order of Moses, attacked the Amalekite stronghold. 2. The destruction of Dathan and Abiram with their families, which, however, only affected the tribe of Reuben. 3. Increased

mortality during the unfortunate march from Jotbathah to Ezion-geber and back. 4. The raid of the king of Arad. 5. The conquest of Arad and its colonization, which affected only Judah and Simeon. 6. The decease of unmarried men who left no sons to supply their places. 7. The conquest of the trans-Jordan provinces and the exaggerated Baal-peor matter.

Now, except the forced march across Et Tih from Hazeroth, and the short delays at Ebronah and Ezion-geber, from the seizure of Kadesh until the final departure from it at the beginning of this last year of the wanderings, the entire period was passed at Kadesh or in the leisurely marches in the Arabah, and there was nothing to hinder the regular normal increase by marriages and births.

The B. compilers, in their manifest efforts to make the second census prove the literal extinction in the wilderness of the cowardly generation, overlook this, and, therefore, largely underrate the forces which Joshua led into Canaan. Their figures will not bear scrutiny.

Seven tribes increase in the aggregate 3,070; five tribes decrease 6,102; and more than half of this decrease is in the single tribe Simeon. In the expedition against Arad and its settlement, Judah is the leader, yet that tribe decreases only 190 while Simeon loses 3,710. The Arad affair does not explain this nor is there anywhere an explanation of it, supposing it to be true. Again, Simeon's decrease being 3,710 and Ephraim's 800, how can Manasseh's gain be 2,050? How does it happen that Ephraim and Naphtali lose precisely alike 800? The three smallest tribes at the first census show now the bulk of the increase—4,260 out of 5,920. Reuben, 4,373, Gad, 4,050 and half Manasseh ($5,270 \div 2$) 2,635, in all 11,058, send as their contingent to Joshua's army about 4,000, thus retaining for their security

against Moab and Ammon about 7,000. The census gives a total force of 60,173 which, minus these 7,000, reduces the army of invasion to only about 53,000. We have noted other suspicious figures but these are sufficient for the purpose. The reason for taking this census, its necessity in fact, has been pointed out above. That it was taken and correctly recorded, we hold to be beyond dispute, though the original records are lost; it is equally indisputable, that they were so "corrected," under a supposed necessity, as to make the two censuses substantially agree in the total. It may be objected to this very plausibly, that the census of the Levites confirms and corroborates that of the tribes.

At the first census, says the objector, the number of all male Levites from one month old upwards, was, Gershonites 750, Kohathites 870, Merarites 620, total 2,230, and now, at the second, in round numbers 2,300; thus they, like the tribes, remained nearly stationary as to their aggregates, and the records confirm each other strikingly. Will the objector state whether or not the Levites were included among those children of Israel whose carcasses were to fall in the wilderness? If not, there was only the ordinary natural loss of life, for they were non-combatants and none fell in battle. The whole account of their second census is compressed into a single paragraph of six verses;¹ the verses immediately following referring to the tribes, and not including the Levites "for they were not numbered among the children of Israel."

In this paragraph, as in all genealogical notices of Levi, the three great divisions are those of his three sons, Gershon, Kohath, Merari, and in all except this paragraph, the "families" into which the divisions are subdivided, are

¹Numbers xxvi. 57-62.

eight in number, viz., the Libnites and Shimites (of Gershon), the Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites and Uzzielites (of Kohath), the Mahlites and Mushites (of Merari.) All still existed and had become very numerous five generations later in the time of David; yet in this paragraph three, the Shimites, Izharites and Uzzielites are omitted. It is just this omission or suppression that makes the Levites so closely correspond in the second census to the tribes in the point of non-increase. The average of the five families named (v. 58) is $(2,800 \div 5)$ 460. At this rate the three omitted numbered (460×3) 1380, and the total of the Levites becomes 3,680. If the reported military force 60,173 be augmented in like proportion (by three-eighths) the increase is 22,565, and the army numbered 82,738. This is a fair and reasonable estimate of the normal increase minus the losses from causes above specified, and supplies Joshua with a force adequate to the work of conquering Canaan and holding it by suitable garrisons until, upon its completion, the tribes took possession, each, of the district allotted to it. Exactness in these figures is not pretended, but they approximate it sufficiently to confirm the doubt expressed in relation to the second census, and to show that the compilers, in their zeal to impress upon the people the lesson of Jahveh's vengeance on the disobedient generation which died in the wilderness, were careless or unscrupulous.

Another very important question deliberated at Abel-Shittim was, the future disposition of the Levites, for "there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel." The plan adopted is detailed in Numb. XXXV., and its execution, in Josh. XXI. We learn from Wellhausen that both these chapters are fiction. Assuming the possibility that he is mistaken, and that they are, in the main, authentic and historic, as they purport to be, one important error only

can be pointed out. It is this: Forty-eight cities are said to be given to the Levites, to use an English legal term, in fee simple. Herein lies the error; not a city was so given. If in Josh. XXI. 2, and parallel texts, "to give us," etc., be corrected to "appoint (or designate) cities for us to dwell in," the sense is clear, and so is the fact. The lists of cities in this chapter are those to which small subdivisions of the Levites were allotted for the benefit of their inhabitants and the general welfare. The description of the suburbs in Numb. XXXV. 2-5, is an exaggeration of the small quadrangle of *midbar* adjoining the towns, only 2,000 cubits square, set apart and made inalienable for the common use and behoof of the Levite families. The subject, however, belongs to a later period, and has no farther place here; it is one of so much interest, though, that a discussion of it is placed in note XVII.

Oppressed by the weight of years, weary and worn by the unexampled toils, anxieties and responsibilities of more than sixty years of semi-dictatorship, now, at the end of a career, that for true grandeur, the annals of man cannot parallel, Moses was now ready to die. He had but one duty still to perform—the nomination and, after confirmation by the heads of the tribes and assembly, the solemn installation of Joshua as his successor. This being accomplished, Moses, servant of Jahveh, died there in the land of Moab. . . . and the children of Irsael wept for him in the plains of Moab thirty days.

With the end of this weeping and mourning for the great leader and law-giver, ends the history of the Hebrews in Egypt and their wonderful exodus.

APPENDIX.

THE AUTHORITIES.

It is obvious, when no fresh sources of information have been discovered, that no new historic sketch of the Hebrews in Egypt and their exodus, differing throughout from its innumerable predecessors, can be written, unless its author's interpretation of the old authorities be to some extent novel and individual; and that such an interpretation depends mainly upon his views of their character. An appendix, therefore, on their origin, scope and purpose needs no apology. Save some few traditions preserved by Josephus and others, those authorities are but two.

I. The Hebrew Scriptures that cover the period.

II. The Egyptian inscriptions and papyri.

Middleton, in the preface of his "Free Inquiry," remarks, "I look upon the discovery of anything which is true as a valuable acquisition to society, which cannot possibly hurt or obstruct the good effect of any other truth whatsoever, for they all partake of one common essence and necessarily coincide with each other, and, like the drops of rain which fall separately into the river, mix themselves at once with the stream and strengthen the general current."

This is true beyond cavil; and, if both the Hebrew and the Egyptian records be substantially true, they partake of one common essence and necessarily coincide with each other, and any work based upon them can be authentic only to the degree in which it shows this essence and coincidence. It is confidently affirmed that nothing yet published bears this test.

There being no material differences of opinion upon the character of the Egyptian records, they may be dismissed with a paragraph. They are extremely vainglorious memorials of the acts of the Pharaohs, their ministers and generals, altogether one-sided, but, so far as they go, accepted as statements of facts. Brugsch's collection of them in his "Geschichte Egyptens unter den Pharaonen" (1877), though the minimum of assent be granted to his theories and hypotheses, and, though

many of his translations are disputed by other Egyptologists, is sufficiently ample and correct for our purpose.

The Hebrew record cannot be disposed of so summarily. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch gradually became an article of both Jewish and Christian faith, and so continued until a doubt as to certain passages in Genesis was expressed by a learned Jew in the eleventh century. Other Jewish scholars during the next following centuries pointed out other passages in the Pentateuch as also doubtful, but without affecting the common belief; but Astruc's hypothesis (1753) of Elohistic and Jahvistic manuscripts gave the question a new direction and importance.

Graetz's learned, eloquent, energetic protest and argument against the Mosaic authorship (1875) produced little or no effect in Germany, as the latest historians of the Jews prove, Stade (1881), Justi (1884) and Kittel (1888), nor has the opposition to it in England and the United States availed, as the treatises and lectures of Prof. Robertson Smith and divers others show. As to the bubbles of Wellhausen and Renan, Graetz recently, in a single short article, has as effectually punctured and dissipated them as if he had filled a volume.

Citations made by Hosea, Joel and Amos prove the existence of ancient moral and religious writings in their age, which, in substance, have come down to us. That these writings were the text books in the "schools of the prophets" from the time of Samuel onwards, which students learned to read and copy, there can be no doubt, nor that they were the "Sepher torah Jahveh" in the days of Jehoshaphat, mentioned in II. Chron. XVII. 9. But that they were the Pentateuch or its first four books, or Deuteronomy its fifth, as we have them, not even Graetz has convincingly proved.

It is, however, by no means sufficient for our purpose to know that something of the kind was extant so early as the age of Samuel; a strong probability at least must be made out, that the books Exodus and Numbers, if not from the hand of Moses, were based upon records actually or nearly contemporary with the events narrated, or the proposed new solution of the old exodus problem will fall as dead as the late Baker Greene's elaborate volume on the subject. We hold, then, that a middle ground alone is tenable; denying, on the one hand, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, on the other, that those books are late forgeries, with a small substratum of obscure tradition, myth and old fable.

The pronoun translated "these," which begins the book Deuteronomy, is in the form that always refers to the foregoing. The first verse, then, really belongs to Numbers; for it states that the preceding books contain the "words," that is, "the statutes, commandments and judgments," delivered by Moses at the places named, during the years from Sinai to the Jordan.

The second verse has no possible connection with its context and is, in fact, a note or memorandum referring to something that precedes. Deuteronomy, therefore, really begins with its present third verse, which, with the fourth and fifth, affirms that the discourses which follow were delivered by Moses at the encampment on the eastern shore of the Jordan. That these discourses are in the main a digest of the statutes contained in the preceding books, is seen at a glance. The statement as to their Mosaic authorship is affirmed again in the last verses of Ch. IV. and elsewhere, yet is vigorously contested. The usual arguments for and against are admirably enforced, respectively, by Dr. Bissell in his "Pentateuch" and Prof. Robertson Smith in his lectures. The reader is referred to them. But there is a chain of considerations, several links in which the writer has nowhere seen urged, that taken together, seem to him conclusive against the commonly received authorship and date of the book.

If there be anything clearly established by the books of Exodus and Numbers, supposing them to be historical, it is, that the new nation, under the constitution ordained by Moses, was a federal republic of ten tribes and two half tribes, "Children of Israel," the independence of each being so jealously guarded that women were not allowed to marry out of their own tribe, as is decided in the case of Zelophehad's daughters in Numb. XXVII. and XXXVI. Each tribe had its own patriarchal government, but, for the common weal, the heads of the seventy great families of the Hebrews formed a political council, assembly or senate. One of the original tribes, of which Moses was a prince, was set apart as a body of priests and teachers, which had the exclusive charge of all ceremonies in the worship of the national, invisible king and deity, Jahveh, and received, interpreted and proclaimed his oracles. It was never to have a tribal territory, but, instead, places of residence with grazing and arable lands adjoining, scattered throughout the possessions of the other tribes. In this constitution all idea of monarchy was excluded, and the high priest was to be the head of the commonwealth, a position of little political power, since the military force of his tribe

was by far the least of all. Down to the end of Numbers we find not the slightest hint that the Lawgiver ever contemplated any change in this constitution, or that he ever conceived such a possibility, and yet we are to believe, that, finding time amid his manifold harassing duties, cares and responsibilities, to make that noble digest of his laws, Deuteronomy, he, at the very close of his life, deliberately laid the axe at the root of his own system, in the seventeenth chapter, by sanctioning monarchy. This is incredible.

By the twelfth chapter, after the conquest and division of Canaan, a place was to be chosen by Jahveh "to put his name there," where alone sacrifices should be offered. Robertson Smith argues at great length that, if this was really a law of the exodus period, it was utterly ignored until the reforms of Hezekiah. To a thoughtful, unprejudiced reader of the books, Kings and Chronicles, the fact is patent and hardly needs argument. Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah and Jotham did that which was right in the eyes of Jahveh, yet of each it is recorded, with hardly a change in the phraseology, "But the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places." The significance of this is, that these high places were shrines of Jahveh.¹

Hence, the chronicler makes the iniquity of Ahaz to culminate in this, "And in every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense *unto other* gods and provoked to anger Jahveh, the Eloi of his fathers." If Moses wrote Deuteronomy, how could the twelfth chapter remain a dead letter fully two hundred and seventy-five years after the dedication of Solomon's temple? But it is asked: Assuming for the moment that he did not, can such occasion, purpose and approximate date of the book be pointed out as to justify the assumption?

It is believed they can be.

The passage in Isaiah beginning, "For unto us a child is born," and that in Zechariah, "Rejoice greatly, O, daughter of Zion," etc.,² attest the confident hopes which the great Jahvists, in the evil days of Ahaz, cherished in the virtues and talents of the crown prince, Hezekiah. From what is preserved of his history in Kings, Chronicles and Isaiah, certain facts are as manifest by inference as if distinctly stated. His religious bias was derived from his grandfather, Jotham, whom he was old enough to remember, very probably cherished and augmented by his maternal grandfather, Zachariah. He was thus very early brought

¹ See I. Sam. ix. 11-14.

² See Note I.

under the immediate influence of Isaiah, Micah and the other zealous Jahvists of the time, and grew up to manhood in intimate relations with them. They showed him the absolute necessity of changes and reforms, amounting in effect to a new constitution of the national religion, if he and his kingdom would escape the impending fate of Hoshea, king of Israel, and his realm, then tottering to their fall. The plans of these reforms were substantially digested and determined during the reign of Ahaz, and only awaited his decease to be put into execution. The greatest of the proposed innovations and, probably, the most difficult to be enforced, was one, which, for both religious and political reasons, was held to be indispensable as the basis of all; one for which the prophets prepared the minds of the people by denouncing the substitution of sacrifices, incense and oblations for clean hands and pure hearts, for ceasing to do evil and learning to do well; and Isaiah, especially, in his eulogies of Zion, whence should go forth the law and the word of Jahveh. This was the removal of all shrines, altars and high places, and rigidly confining sacrificial ceremonies to the temple in Jerusalem, and to priests and Levites. For their support new regulations were made. They remained in their towns and villages where they read and taught the law in the synagogues or meeting houses, and whence they were to come in course to the temple to officiate there. Under the direction of the prophets, II. Chron. XXIX. 25, a magnificent ritual, in part new, was introduced into the temple.

It was not until after the catastrophe of the northern kingdom that the great innovation was attempted. The story is told in II. Chron. XXX. A general invitation was sent by messengers to the remnant of Israel to join in a commemoration of the passover at Jerusalem. The Jahvists accepted. The celebration was conducted with all possible pomp and splendor; the visitors were feasted at public expense; the festival was doubled in duration to fourteen days, and enthusiasm was aroused to such a pitch that, when all this was finished, "all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim, also, and Manasseh, until they had utterly destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their own cities." Chapters XXIX. XXX. and XXXI. of II. Chronicles are the key to the problem of Deuteronomy. They read throughout as a record of novelties and innovations, in short, of a new religious constitution, while the Second

Law contains precisely those "Statutes and commandments," some of them found nowhere else, which correspond to the novelties and innovations. If the priest code in it does not, in all points, correspond to the account of the reforms in those chapters, this simply proves that it was finally revised and copied after the reforms, when experience had shown the necessity of some slight changes and modifications.

Taking that which seems the most reasonable of the various translations of Deuteronomy XVII. 18, two copies of the book were to be made—Septuagint and Vulgate introduce the word Deuteronomy into the verse—one for the king, one for the temple, a very superfluous injunction, one would think, if it was then a part of the well-known Torah.

Hezekiah's premature death prevented the reforms from taking root; Shebna, the major-domo, and the anti-Jahvist princes, gained complete control of his young son and heir, Manasseh.

In his name they restored the high places and again introduced all the abominations of the heathen. The reaction was sadly complete. Of course they destroyed the king's copy of the new law, but that in the temple was saved by hiding it. The tradition of such a roll could not be lost by the priests and Levites for whose support and comfort it made such new and excellent provision. Hence, seventy-five years after the decease of Hezekiah, when Hilkiyah said to Shaphan, "I have found the Book of the Law in the house of Jahveh," it was obviously this, not the Torah cited by Hosea and Micah—the Torah so long used in the prophet and priest schools of both kingdoms. A high priest would never speak of that as a discovery. Note this also: Josiah had in the eighth year of his reign "sought the God of David;" in the twelfth, he purged the land of idolatry, yet when Shaphan read to him the roll found in the temple "he rent his clothes and wept before the Lord at the curses that are written in the book which was read before the king of Judah." There is nothing in the Pentateuch except the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, that could have so moved him. Ezekiel, early in the captivity, wrote a priest's code for the future new temple. If he held Deuteronomy for the work of Moses, how dared he so differ from it? and not only he but the compilers or editors of Leviticus? The inference is, that in their time the truth in regard to the book was not lost. A century after Nehemiah's energetic action at Jerusalem, the chronicler does state that the roll found by Hilkiyah was "by the hand of Moses." But the object and purpose of his chronicles

were an apology for the Davidian kings and the restoration of the monarchy under a descendant of Zerubbabel, whose genealogy he continues to the seventh generation at Babylon in his own time (I. Ch. III. 15-19). Kittel is of opinion that "a Jahvist prophetic man" wrote the book, being incited thereto by Hezekiah's attempt at reform and Manasseh's idolatry, in the reign of the latter; but his reasons are not convincing. Robertson Smith rather supports Kittel by citing passages from Isaiah to prove that the book was not known to that prophet, and the reforms of Hezekiah cannot have been based upon it, overlooking the fact that those passages were written in the last year of King Ahaz.

Citations may be made from the writings of American statesmen of the Revolution quite inconsistent with the United States' constitution which they afterwards framed and established. Precisely so Isaiah may have sanctioned the existing plurality of altars and the erection of shrines under Ahaz which experience under Hezekiah utterly forbade.

Kittel's notion that this marvelous book was the production of some one "prophetic man" borders on the absurd; as well attribute the original State Constitutions of the American Union, each, to some one wise patriot.

The inference and conclusion seem unavoidable, that Hezekiah supplemented the great reform, begun and prosecuted under the advice and instruction of the prophets, by giving his royal sanction to that noble digest of both the old and the new laws, known as the Second Law, to which the great Jahvists had given long continued and profound study, and which, near the close of his reign, was finally revised and engrossed in two official copies. The prophetic and poetic writings of that age prove that a commission to make such a digest could combine the genius, talent and wisdom adequate to the production of this system of statutes and ordinances, unrivalled in all ancient literature. Except as to the monarchy, it is throughout Mosaic in spirit, and its form is that of discourses by the great Lawgiver, as Plato's Republic is in form a discourse by Socrates. The assumption of a great name was a common literary fiction of antiquity, of which the so-called "Song of Solomon" is another instance in Hebrew literature. It was not intended to, nor did it, deceive contemporaries.

Finally: Is it not clearly apparent that Deuteronomy, at some late date unknown, was thrust awkwardly into a work to which it does not belong? Its first two verses, as we have seen, belong to Numbers, and its last chapter (death of Moses) is needed to make the book complete.

If now we read from the warning of Moses' death in Numb. XXVII. 12-18, and include these passages in sequence as they stand, we find a clear, connected narrative, that leads directly into the book of Joshua, in which ample time is allowed for all the events recorded in the last nine chapters of Numbers. Whether Deuteronomy does not omit all these events, except the appointment of Joshua, and leave no time for them, is for the reader to judge.¹

Assuming that unbiased common sense is right in rejecting as absurd the new hypothesis, that the four books which precede Deuteronomy are a later amplification of its contents, the question arises, is that book a digest of *them*? Of course not, provided it can be satisfactorily shown that the tetrateuch is a later compilation than Deuteronomy; thence it follows that both, except as to the new matter added by the compilers, were drawn from the same ancient records and torahs, viz: those cited and alluded to by the earliest literary prophets. This point reached, it will be easy to establish the proposition before advanced, that Exodus and Numbers were based upon records actually or nearly contemporary with the events narrated. For this and other cogent reasons we must look into the history, scope and purpose of the Great Roll.

Conquered peoples were deported by the Pharaohs as slaves; by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings as colonists who retained much of their movable property, and in their new homes became wealthy communities. After the fall of Samaria, Shalmaneser colonized the remnant of the ten tribes in various places in his dominions. There can be no question that King Hoshea was taken to Nineveh, where "the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison." With him must have been taken his court and a colony considerable in number. Upon the fall of Nineveh their descendants were again deported, this time to Babylon, to aid in filling the vast space inclosed in its walls. Thus only can we account for the fact that the archives of the northern kingdom were afterwards found there. Thither, also, Nebuchadnezzar took the bulk of his Judean captives; and thus, remnants of both kingdoms were brought together and settled upon the Nebar-Kebar, the great canal that crossed the city from the Tigris to the Euphrates and its branches. From the statistics of the male captives² and of the returning exiles³ it has been computed that this colony, at the end of the captivity, numbered, old and young of both

¹ Compare Deut. iii. 23-28, with xxxi. 7-9, 22-23, and xxxiv. 44, et seq

² Kings xxiv. Jeremiah lii.

³ Ezra's and Nehemiah's lists.

sexes, some 200,000 Judeans and perhaps 40,000 or 50,000 from the ten tribes.¹

Tribal distinctions were lost, at least in the old sense, but otherwise the old civil organization remained with very little if any change. After all hope was lost of the restoration of the Davidian monarchy at Jerusalem, the heirs to the throne contented themselves with the position of head of the Jews in Babylon under the title, Prince of the Exile (*Resch-Galuta*), which they held for some ten centuries; but the *Resch-Galuta* was a titled nullity; for here, as before in Palestine, the major-domo and the princes were the real rulers and, for the most part, held the king in subjection.² The struggles of the few Jahvist kings to cast off the yoke had ended disastrously, and only strengthened the bonds, like the efforts of the American free states for sixty years against the arrogant and insatiate slave power.

The denunciations of the princes by the prophets cover all the period from King Jotham to the end of the captivity; for in exile they had lost nothing of their greed and rapacity, and still held to their idolatry and the filthy Astarte worship. It was fortunate in the end that they and the great merchants so generally became enamored of the life in the great capital, and fixed themselves there permanently. The breach between them and the Jahvists became irreparable, and they must have instigated the bitter persecution of the latter under Nabonad just before the successful invasion of Cyrus. For the Jahvists could have given the king no just cause of complaint, having followed the advice of Jeremiah and built houses, planted gardens, encouraged marriage and sought the peace of the city.³ The denial of their petitions to be allowed to return to Judea, and the subsequent persecution, taught them to rest their hopes on Jeremiah's Kings of the Medes.⁴ Though Deutero-Isaiah warns the Jews against adopting the Persian doctrine of a God of Light and a God of Darkness,⁵ there was sufficient common ground in the religions of Cyrus and the Jahvists to win his favor for their party, even if it had not aided him to his conquest, and

¹ On the Exiles in Babylon, see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* B. ii. Th. ii. Ch. i.

² Isaiah xxii. 15, et seq., xxviii. 14, xxx. 1-4.

³ Jeremiah xxix.

⁴ Jer. li. 11. In fact, Deutero-Jeremiah.

⁵ Isaiah xlv.

he had not come under the influence of Hebrew eunuchs, both of which are probable.¹

Isaiah's figure of a shoot, *Zemach*,² from the root of Jesse, under whom a remnant of the Jews, then besieged in Jerusalem by Sennacherib, "should take root downward and bear fruit upward," was adopted by Jeremiah in predicting the revival of the Davidian kingdom after the captivity.

Ezekiel, also, in the twenty-fifth year of the exile, supposed that the head of the new commonwealth would be of the line of David, though not as king but prince (*Nassi*). When Zerubbabel led the first party from Babylon to repeople Jerusalem and its small territory, hardly twenty miles square, both Haggai and Zechariah accepted him as the promised shoot, although the government was really dual—Joshua, the high priest, being the head of the spiritual power. The Jahvists soon perceived that this could not last; that Zerubbabel and Joshua were both weak and inefficient, and the friction between them too great; and that the constitution must be either that of the old monarchy or the still older theocratic republic; but the experience of centuries had proved that, under monarchy, the reformed and pure Judaism urged by the prophets was hopeless. The turning point was the decisive act of Zechariah when he placed the golden crown upon the head of Joshua, saying, "Behold the man whose name is *Zemach*." The Jahvists saw their very religion in danger unless the holy city should again become its center, to which their brethren in all lands could turn for instruction and comfort; and to this end the monarchy must forever be set aside.

This is the key to the history of the Great Roll. The literature of the two kingdoms, historic, prophetic, poetic, collected in Babylon, was richer than any one imagines who has not looked into the matter. There were the torahs of the schools, and Deuteronomy; the royal year-books of both kingdoms; the manuscripts from which Joshua and Judges were compiled; histories of Elijah and Elisha; the books of Samuel the seer; of Nathan the prophet and Gad the seer, recounting the Acts of David; the books of the Acts of Solomon; the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite; the visions of Iddo the seer, the commentary of the prophet, Iddo; the book of Iddo the seer, concerning genealogies; the books of Shemaiah the prophet and of Jehu, son of Hanani; Acts of Uzziah written by Isaiah; all the pre-exilian prophets now extant; a roll of war songs or ballads (book of Jasher); a collection of psalms and another of proverbs, both

¹ II Kings xx. 18. Isaiah xxxix. 7. lvi. 3-4.

² Isaiah xi. 1-10.

augmented in the time of Hezekiah—the nuclei of the present books. The existence of these writings we happen to know, how many not known may have perished with those named.

All ancient civilizations have left, each its own artistic expression and monument; the Hebrew, in its still unrivaled religious poetry. From the advent in Egypt to the days of Solomon, the Israelites had had no occasion for architecture nor for its then merely accessory arts, sculpture and painting. When the artistic sense was awakened and sought expression, poetry was the medium, all the more because art was then the servant of religion and the Hebrew was forbidden to make any material representation of the Deity.

Hence, the earlier psalmists and prophets had cultivated the art of poetic expression to singular perfection; and now, during the seventy years' captivity, the glorious additions to the national literature were for the most part in poetic form.

After the death of Jeremiah, his disciple and scribe, Baruch, made his way from Egypt to Babylon and there edited his master's writings with historic notes.

Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Deutero-Isaiah and, later, Malachi, followed. Many of the finest psalms are of this period; Ruth is now well understood to have been written as a touching protest against the merciless "purification of the sons of Levi" by Ezra and Nehemiah.

The noblest purely literary monument of the captivity is one of the great poems of all ages, Job. What wonder that the Jahvists had begun to despair? In spite of covenants and promises, not one of them then living could remember a time when it had been well with them, and now their *Resch-Galuta* and their cruel and rapacious princes were favored courtiers of the kings of Babylon. They still saw "the wicked in great power and spreading himself like the green bay tree in its native soil," while upon them fell all those sufferings and woes which, from olden time, had been proclaimed to be the penalties of transgression. Had not Jahveh "perverted judgment and the Almighty perverted justice?" The poem denies nothing, explains nothing. Its moral is: Lose neither faith nor hope; for man cannot measure nor comprehend Deity; but shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? The author was evidently personally acquainted with both Egypt and Chaldea. Could the ground work of the poem have been discussions of the great problem between Jeremiah and Baruch during those last sad years in Egypt? But there are passages in Deutero-Isaiah strikingly like others in Job; did he imitate—copy—could he have been the author of both?

But the great work of the period was the compilation of that folk's book, which, directly and indirectly, has brought more weal and woe to mankind than all other books together, and which, from the charming narratives scattered lavishly through it, is still, twenty-five centuries later, a folk's book, and that, too, in all written languages. The vicissitudes to which this Roll was exposed during the two thousand years of its existence in manuscript account for many obscurities and inconsistencies; but others are obviously such as would occur from its being somewhat hastily compiled by more than one compiler to meet a sudden emergency or need. Had the little colony under Zerubbabel not disappointed the hopes and expectations of the Jahvists, the monarchy in time might have been restored in the line of David, as so many anticipated, and Deuteronomy have remained the embodied law. This was not to be the case; and the minds of the people had to be prepared for the restoration of the ancient theocratic republic. Hence the compilation of the Great Roll.

The Great Roll comprised all the books from Genesis to II. Kings inclusive, except Deuteronomy and Ruth, and was, doubtless, a continuous whole. We know when and by whom the divisions of the books into chapters and verses were made. If we did not know this, the work is so clumsily executed that no reader with a modicum of critical sense could attribute it to the original authors or compilers. For the like reason—there being no evidence whatever against it—we must hold the division of the Roll into books to have been made at a later, undetermined period, very probably at the time when Deuteronomy was so awkwardly thrust into it. Substitute for these arbitrary divisions, those into which the Roll naturally falls, and divers perplexities disappear. They are:

I. Introductory narrative, extending to Jacob's advent in Egypt. (Gen. XLVI.)

II. From Jacob's advent to the death of Moses, including the book of the law.

III. The conquest of Canaan and subsequent history to the monarchy. (I. Sam. XI.)

IV. The monarchy to its extinction under Zedekiah.

Let us consider the introductory narrative.

The monotheistic idea was so far developed, that the poets of the captivity made Jahveh Eloï the creator and ruler of the universe, and so, too, the compilers of the Roll. They adopted the Chaldean account

of the creation and adapted it to their purpose. They use the indefinite Elohim for the deity in describing the particular creations in order, but speaking of them as a whole (Gen. II. 4), and in the stories of Adam and Cain, they employ Jahveh or Jahveh-Elohim throughout. Thenceforward they use the names indifferently, it being now understood that Elohim and Jahveh are names of the same supreme being. The supremacy of Jahveh the Creator, over all gods is the first lesson taught in the introduction. The second, illustrated by the stories of Adam, Cain, the flood, the cities of the plain and other examples, is, that due punishment follows transgression. But there is a third, specially intended for all the faithful, whether Judeans weeping for Zion by the waters of Babylon or exiles of the northern kingdom in other places. It is this: That they were that "seed of Abraham" by birth or adoption, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed; that they were descended from Seth, to whom the right of primogeniture had passed from Cain, through a line of eldest sons to Enoch who walked with God; to Noah, with whom Jahveh-Elohim made a covenant; to Abraham of the second covenant and to Jacob, with whom the covenant was renewed and to whom the rights of primogeniture had also passed. Thus, of all peoples they were the most illustrious by descent, were exalted above all nations by primogeniture and were the first born of Jahveh. (Ex. IV. 22.) This astounding appeal to national pride and personal vanity, ever since read in temple and synagogue and taught to every child of the Hebrews in all the lands of their dispersion, begat a trust and faith in their God, which have preserved them from destruction under persecutions by pagan, christian and moslem more horribly cruel and longer continued than were ever inflicted upon any other race of mankind.

The second division of the Roll, the lessons of which are in the main obvious enough, presents one point which seems strangely to have attracted little if any attention. Jacob joined Joseph as a wealthy and powerful independent chief or sheik, and as such had a possession given him outside of Egypt proper. Upon his death, his sons, brothers of the all-powerful minister, became each a sheik, prince or head of a tribe

In Exodus I. 6, Joseph and all that generation die and these princes disappear. Then follow the short notice of the oppression and the story of Moses. Now mark this: it is *the people of the children of Israel* that multiply and sigh under hard bondage; Moses and Aaron assemble the elders of the children of Israel; to them are imparted the instruc-

tions concerning the passover; the rulers of the congregation consult Moses upon the manna; in the presence of the elders of Israel water is obtained at Horeb; able men of all Israel are made judges and peace officers at Rephidim; at Sinai Moses speaks to the elders of the people; throughout Exodus and Leviticus it is always the people, the congregation, the children of Israel and their elders, who appear in the historical notices. There is hardly even an allusion to the tribes and their princely heads. Let every thoughtful reader reflect, if, after perusing Exodus and toiling through Leviticus, it is not with a feeling of surprise and a certain sense of incongruity, that, in resuming the narrative of events at Sinai in the first chapter of Numbers, he finds the census-takers and, in other chapters, the generals of the tribes, the men sent to reconnoitre Canaan, and the commissioners to divide the conquered territory, all to be princes, heads of tribes, and of their fathers' families?

Is it not significant of something needing explanation that in Exodus V. the children of Israel are "scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble," and in Numbers VII., fourteen months later, there is a complete tribal organization and the "princes" make such lavish offerings at the dedication of the tabernacle that, from Numbers XXXIV. to the dedication of Solomon's temple, these princes appear but once (in Josh. XXII. in the mission to the trans-Jordan tribes), although the chronicler, drawing from the same sources, finds them in full power and influence in the reign of David?

The simple facts are these: there is a volume of lost history here which came within the scope of neither Deuteronomy nor the Great Roll; there is a strongly marked distinction kept up in the Roll between the "people" and their elders on the one hand, and the "houses" of Jacob's posterity with their princes and heads on the other; throughout Exodus and Leviticus the latter are simply ignored, not being essential to the work in hand; in Numbers, notices of them are required to spin out the slender thread of history; these notices bring out also and place in strong light the contrast between the princes of the exodus and those of the monarchy, so energetically denounced by the prophets, while the record of the profuse offerings to the tabernacle presented a noble example for imitation by the wealthy Jews in Babylon in their gifts to the new temple then building at Jerusalem.

Moses was a prince of so high a rank that, had Aaron died young without issue, he would have become the head of the tribe Levi. To make him the author of Exodus, in which the class to which he belonged is utterly ignored, is preposterous.

"The law," as given in these books, is evidently the revised statutes down to the time of the compilers, and the last chapter of Leviticus reads like a statute afterwards added to meet questions that had arisen in Judea. All is put into the mouth of Moses, as in Deuteronomy, and for like reasons.

True to the purpose of the Great Roll, as above noted, this division of it taught the people that no human king was needed for the deliverance of Jahveh's "first born" from Egypt. Its law does not sanction monarchy; its history proved that Jahveh himself, acting through a prophet, was the deliverer.

The third division yields important support to this and other propositions before advanced.

The few Jahvists of the ten tribes had become amalgamated with the Judeans, partly in the time of Hezekiah, partly in Babylon. The bulk of the exiles was of the tribes Judah and Benjamin.

The book Joshua, therefore, gives in detail only the conquest of territories included in the later Judean kingdom, hardly a third of the whole, passing the other two-thirds with merely an enumeration of the petty kings destroyed. No contemporary history could have been so written, and the fact is the strongest circumstantial evidence that the book did not exist in its present form until after the fall of the northern kingdom. The book has throughout the aspect of a compilation from ancient documents; but no necessity or occasion for such a work appears earlier than the captivity. So, too, of Judges; the histories of Deborah, Gideon and Abimelech excepted, all the detailed accounts of the deliverers are confined to those whose sphere of action was the later Judean territory; and the same inference is obvious. The story of Micah and the Danites (Chap. XVII. and XVIII.) probably has some slight basis of fact; but the disgusting narrative that follows is pure fiction, and, if not so, its malignant libel upon the Benjaminites could not have been revived in Babylon and made part of the Great Roll for public reading at the moment when concord was indispensable to the Jahvists. That it now has a place in it is another proof of the subsequent redaction of the Roll. In these two books and in Samuel to the rise of Saul, Jahveh is still king. He, by his "servant Joshua," conquers Canaan; through neighboring petty kings he punishes the transgressions of the tribes; upon their repentance he never fails to raise up a deliverer. The lesson before taught is enforced; human monarchy was needless, as Samuel urged in vain.

Passing to the fourth division, we find that the periods covered by the activity of Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Elijah, Elisha and Isaiah occupy three-fourths of it, although the annals of both kingdoms through five centuries are epitomized. But the compiler had another purpose besides glorifying the prophets and sketching the national history.

Terribly in earnest, he was framing an arraignment of the monarchy, which never was nor could be answered; for the feeble reply of the chronicler long afterwards was no answer.

To deepen and strengthen the impression upon the popular mind of Jahveh's power, and his readiness to exert it in favor of his chosen people so long as they were faithful to him, marvels and miracles are everywhere reproduced as facts from the ancient songs and ballads—the story of Joshua and the sun and moon, the authority for which is a stanza from the book of Jashar, for instance.

The thousand and one attempts made in the interest of dogma, to reconcile contradictory passages in the prophets, which are simply differences of opinion upon monarchy and republic before that question was settled, are but "vanity and a chase of the wind." The exile prophets and compilers guarded against any possible misconception of their intent and purpose by their contemporaries, however strangely later generations have misunderstood them. The compilers taught historically what the prophets urged categorically and psalmists sang:

I. Put not your trust in princes nor in any son of man in whom there is no help, for Jahveh is the true and only king of Jacob. The promises, the exuberant joy and triumph of Deutero-Isaiah, depend from this postulate.

II. The old prophets had ever been the interpreters of Jahveh's will and therefore the true and rightful guides and guardians of the state, and Zechariah claims equality with them for the exile prophets,

"Which were in the day

That the foundation of the house Jahveh Zebaoth was laid

That the (new) temple might be built,"

and who had finally decided for the republic. For monarchy was now, as from the beginning, needless.

III. Jahveh never failed his people so long as they were faithful, and when for transgression he "delivered them into the hands of enemies," upon repentance he always raised up a deliverer. Judges II. 22, states this at large. Nehemiah IX. confirms it.

IV. But monarchy was not merely needless; it had proved itself the bane, the ruin of the commonwealth. This is treated in II. Kings XVII. as the case with the northern kingdom and the argument is (v. 19) quietly applied also to the southern.

His attention once directed to the point, the thoughtful reader of the Old Testament will note numberless passages that more or less directly indicate this to be the great moral which the compilers strove to enforce, particularly in the historic books, namely: That all hope of a redeemed, purified, God-fearing, Hebrew commonwealth in the future rested in the restoration of the republic under its divine king and the guidance of his prophets, to the utter exclusion of the royal and princely families, as such, from political power and influence. The lesson was made all the more impressive by the Roll's solution of the old harassing problem presented but not solved in Job: "Why, if Jahveh was a just God, were his faithful servants subjected to such endless sorrows and calamities?" Its answer is: National crimes pay national penalties; that is, the iniquities of rulers are visited alike upon the just and the unjust. Jahveh is a jealous God and visits the sins of the fathers upon long generations of their children. The people, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances and warnings of Samuel, had discarded their divine for a human king; for this sin the remnant of that people now sat captives by the waters of Babylon and wept for Zion. Let not that sin be repeated.

There is a post-exile psalm which, at first view, appears to be a glorification of David and therefore hostile to the views above stated; but this psalm (CXXXII.) may have been written by one who sympathized politically with the chronicler; more probably, verse 12, is the key to its correct interpretation:

If thy children will keep my covenant
And my testimony that I shall teach them,

their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore. There is great virtue in this *if* David's posterity had not kept the covenant nor the testimony.¹

After Nehemiah's successful organization of the infant state and his final departure from Jerusalem, the population rapidly increased in both the capital and the territory, so that the stated reading of the roll in the temple, as recorded by Ezra and Nehemiah, was no longer sufficient for the general instruction.

¹ See Note ii.

It was, therefore, ordered somewhat later, that on every Sabbath and festival, and twice on week days when the country people came to the market towns and district tribunals, a section of the Roll should be publicly read. To facilitate these readings and to render the Roll legible by the Jewish colonies in other lands where the old Hebrew alphabet was forgotten, the new alphabet, known as the Assyrian (Khetab Aschurit) was adopted, which had come into general use in business and correspondence. Schools were established free to all, and whoever made himself able to read the Roll correctly was encouraged to read it in the public assemblies. Finally, psalms were composed in honor and praise of the torah, which were read or chanted in the temple and the prayer houses of the towns and villages.

The views thus presented and enforced find strong support in earlier chapters, which cannot well be introduced here; but we may already assume, certainly as against the new destructive school;

That there existed in Babylon a collection, not only of old songs and ballads as the most skeptical grant, but of ancient, authentic, family, historic and legal records, extending back to the time of Joshua and Moses;

That these documents were cited in Palestine by the oldest prophets whose writings are now extant;

That the work of the D. compilers was digested from them;

That the B. compilers extensively copied them; and, finally,

That the chronicler drew his introductory matter in part from them.

They perished in the sad catastrophe that deprived later ages of the royal year-books and so many of the precious writings above enumerated.

Whoever cited them, of course took only what suited his purpose; and as the B. compilers had no reason for giving in full the history of the princes and heads of houses, they in general ignored them. This is no imputation upon their honesty and candor, for they could not foresee that all these records would be lost; that they would never be used for a complete history of their people; and that their scanty excerpts would be left the only source of information upon the origin and rise of their nation. It is manifest that excerpts, made for a solely ethical purpose, may have been taken from incorrect copies used in the prophet schools, or may not have been literally transcribed, and thus have proved discordant with each other. This is probably the cause of many discrepancies and incongruities in the Pentateuch, though others, doubtless, crept

in later. That they do exist, all commentators upon the Old Testament and all historians of the Jews have openly or tacitly acknowledged. In point of fact, the most orthodox and the most skeptical differ only in the choice and number of statements rejected.

So, the preceding history varies from all others, not because it rejects more than the most orthodox, but that it selects differently. True, some things are discarded which have become almost articles of popular religious faith, made so by the persistent and *quasi* unanimous teachings of the leaders of opinion, past and present, on biblical questions; but, until they can justly claim divine inspiration or special revelation on points of mere historic criticism, every reader of the Bible is free to choose between conflicting passages those which his reason and judgment commend. It will be found that the passages rejected by the present writer are fully offset in number by those repudiated by these leaders of opinion.

As with the Hebrew, so with the Egyptian records. Egyptologists practically agree upon certain points in Egypto-Hebrew history, based upon inscriptions and papyri, which are contradicted by others. No student is bound to accept their opinions, if, for good reasons, he is convinced that they are mistaken. No man's *ipse dixit* now-a-days is final judgment.

NOTES.

NOTE I.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

Probably few readers of this essay need be informed that the collectors and editors of the prophets were anything but scrupulous either as to authorship or chronology. Thus, under the name of Isaiah, who wrote in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, writings are found produced one hundred and fifty years later. Three different prophets are brought together under the name Zachariah, etc., etc.

Differences of opinion exist as to the dates of some minor parts, but all biblical scholars agree as to the main facts. Graetz has discussed this subject with his usual remarkable acumen and lucidity and tabulates his conclusions thus:

The chronological succession of the prophets is, therefore, to be arranged in this order:

I. The Pre-exile Prophets.

1. Under Jeroboam and Uzziah.
Amos, Joel, Hosea I.
2. Under Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Pekah and Hosea.
Isaiah, Micah, Zechariah I., Hosea II.
3. Under Manasseh.
Nahum probably.
4. Under Josiah.
Zephaniah, Jeremiah and author of Isaiah XXIV., XXVII.
5. Under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah.
Jeremiah, Zechariah II., Habakkuk.

II. Prophets at the beginning of the Babylonian captivity.
Obadiah and the author of Isaiah XXXIV.-XXXV.

III. Prophets of the exile.

Ezekiel; thirty years later, the author of Isaiah XIII.-XIV., Jeremiah XLIX. 7-22, L., LI. Isaiah XXI. 1-10 and Deutero-Isaiah XL.—LXVI. excepting LVI. 9-12 and LVII. 1-13.

IV. Prophets after the exile.

Haggai, Zechariah III., Malachi, a century later, and the author of the book of Jonah.

Graetz is of opinion that Zechariah I. was that son of Jeberechiah mentioned in Isaiah VIII. 2, a man of distinction and high position or he would not have been joined with the high priest as one of the prophet's witnesses. Could he have been the grandfather of Hezekiah? If so, there is another reason for the young prince's religious bias, and the prophet knew whereof he spake in the eulogy of his grandson. (Zech. IX. 9, et seq.)

NOTE II.

PSALMS OF THE STEPS.

The psalm cited is one of those headed in the Vulgate, "Canticum gradum," in the English version, "Songs of Degrees," in the R. V., "Song of Ascents," whatever this is supposed to mean, notwithstanding the Septuagint has *Ode ton anabathmon*—"Song of the Steps." The fifteen "songs of the steps" were chanted in the temple during the only night services of the year in that edifice, namely,

the nights of the feast of tabernacles, and at no other time nor place. Hence the exhortation in Psalm CXXXIV.;

Behold, bless ye Jahveh, all servants of Jahveh,
Who by night stand in the House of Jahveh.

In the time of the Maccabean kings, a point of bitter controversy between the Sadducees and Pharisees was the rite of pouring water as well as wine upon the altar at the feast of tabernacles which the Sadducees would prohibit. Under Queen Salome Alexandra, the Pharisees had the upper hand in religious matters and restored the rite, making the drawing of the water and bringing it to the temple the occasion of imposing ceremonies.

The multitudes assembled in the illuminated fore-courts of the edifice and a full chorus of Levites stood upon the fifteen steps that led up from the women's court to that of the men, and, accompanied by stringed and other instruments, sang the fifteen Songs of the Steps. Psalms 134, 135 and 136 were composed or compiled expressly for this service and belong together. See Graetz's "Psalms," pp. 48-49.

NOTE III.

MAPS IN ENGLISH BIBLES.

An examination of the maps of the "Wanderings of the Children of Israel" in the Bibles at the Bible Society's depository in Trieste shows them to be substantially identical with that in the Scripture Atlas published in London about 1830. Goshen, Rameses, Succoth, Pithom, though placed differently now and then, are in like impossible positions. The discoveries and identifications of the last sixty years are ignored. So long as the great Bible societies continue to issue such misinformation broadcast, no wonder that unbelievers make merry. But, perhaps, their plates are not yet worn out and new ones are expensive. The basis of the topographical discussion in this chapter is Graetz's noble Note 3, to the first volume of his *Geschichte der Juden* (1873).

NOTE IV.

TONGUE OF THE EGYPTIAN SEA.

Of the various translations of Isaiah XI. 15-16, by far the most satisfactory is the German one Englished in the text; none less so than the English versions. Isaiah XIX. 5, et seq. expands the thought.

Dr. Ludwig Philippson's noble edition of the Hebrew Bible, with German translation and copious commentary in 3 vols. (1842, 1848, 1854), is a monumental work of the biblical learning of that period from the orthodox point of view. There will be frequent occasion hereafter to cite it. His tongue of the Egyptian Sea is the Nile; his river to be smitten, the Euphrates; the English versions, especially the R. V., seem to agree with him. Can it be pointed out how and when the prophecy applies to the Euphrates? Zech. X. is from the pen of Zechariah, the contemporary of Isaiah, and the topic is the same—the fate of Egypt and Assyria. Compare v. 11 with those from Isaiah. The Vienna Heb.-Ger. Bible gives the verse a slightly different sense from its English version; "And he will pass through the narrow sea, and smite the waves on the sea, and all the depths of the stream will be dried up." Josephus, in his paraphrase of I. Kings IX. 26, reads: At "Ezion-geber, a bay of Egypt.... of the Egyptian sea;" the Vienna Bible, "Ezion-geber which is by Elath on the shore of the Jam Suph." In the English version, the translators note in the margin to the word, shore, "Hebrew, lip."

Now, reader, as a matter of curiosity, draw from about Lat. 26°, in outline, the head of the Red Sea with its two great gulfs, and the Suez canal to lake Balah. In the broad shallow bay on the east, just below the gulf of Akabah, draw an eye looking towards Suez. Now shade along the canal so as to combine all the lakes into a single sheet of water. This is Isaiah's "Tongue of the Egyptian Sea."

NOTE V.

WILDERNESS. DESERT.

Readers of the Old Testament who remember Cowper's "vast wilderness with boundless contiguity of shade," need not turn to Webster's dictionary to see that the word is occasionally used for a widely extended forest; but the great majority take wilderness and desert to be synonymous, which, in the English Bible, they rarely are, except in the passages cited in this chapter. The two words in this Bible represent, perhaps, a dozen different Hebrew words, which can hardly be supposed to be really synonyms; for why multiply words unless to express shades of meaning? Why the late revised version has so generally retained the word *wilderness*, is one of the many small mysteries of that work.

"Etham in the edge of the wilderness." Here wilderness and desert are undoubtedly synonymous, but, as we proceed, we shall come

upon so many passages where they are not so as to justify embracing the first occasion to remark upon, and prepare the reader for, them. The "wilderness" of this phrase is in the Hebrew, *midbar*, a word that very frequently occurs. Its original signification—we use Fürst's Lexicon—is pasture or grazing land. See Jer. IX. 10, XXIII. 10, Joel I. 19, II. 22, Ps. LXXVIII. 2. It then came to designate extensive grassy tracts in part covered with forest, so that "pastures in the wilderness," Ps. LXV. 12, are glades in the wooded grazing lands. It is also used for the pasture held in common by a community, as by old English and German towns, whence the English noun "common." At length it was used for steppe or prairie, and finally for desert.

Moses did not conduct his father-in-law's flocks into a desert for forage, but into the back (west) side of the *midbar*. Nor were David and his men, when in the *midbar* of Maon in the plain, in a desert.

Since this chapter was written, the Fourth Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund has been received.

Nothing has been found in it to require any change in the text. On the other hand, the position taken seems to be strengthened by Mr. Petrie's remarks upon the effects of moving sands, and upon the site of Defenneh, in "Tell Nebesheh," Ch. I. and VII., and Mr. Griffith's on Quantarah, Ch. XIV.

NOTE VI.

LINES OF ELDEST AND YOUNGER SONS.

The complications arising from the degrees of affinity between the descendants of older and younger sons are often very curious and not a little perplexing. Thus, the youngest son of a youngest son may be born in the same year with the fifth in a line of eldest sons. This may be illustrated by a diagram in which, to exhibit the problem in its simplest and most striking form, A and the line of his oldest son are supposed, each, to be a father at the age of twenty years; in the line of second sons, at thirty years, etc. A's four sons are supposed to be born at intervals of ten years.

	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.
A at	20	30	40	50	60
1st sons	B ¹		B ²		B ³
2d "		C ¹			C ²
3d "			D ¹		
4th "				E ¹	
A at	70	80	90	100	
1st sons		B ⁴		B ⁵	
2d "			C ³		
3d "		D ²			
4th "				E ²	

Thus, in one century, there are of B five generations, of C three and a third, of D two and a half, of E two; so that a fifth (B⁵) and a second (E²) generation from A are contemporaneous.

These, of course, are extreme cases, but they illustrate how differences of the kind in the genealogies, as between Zadok and Solomon, prove nothing against their credibility.

NOTE VII.

DATES OF THE JOSEPH AND MOSES STORIES, AND OF THE REVISION OF THE GREAT ROLL.

The stories of Joseph's and of Moses' childhood are discredited in the text and are among the supposed additions to the B. compilation. Deuteronomy is not more awkwardly thrust into that roll than is the story of Joseph. In the last verse of Gen. XXXV. Isaac dies. Until Cardinal Santo Caro (about A. D. 1250) divided the books into chapters, one read without a break, "And his sons, Esau and Jacob, buried him. Now these are the generations of Esau who is Edom. Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan," etc., and the genealogies follow. Then, "And Jacob dwelt in the land of Canaan."¹ These are the generations of Jacob." We expect here, of course, a chapter of genealogy corresponding to that of Esau in the preceding. What we find is, "Joseph, seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren," etc. Can anything more incongruous be easily found? Yet we soon find a counterpart to it. The Midianites sold Joseph to Potiphar, and—what? "And it came to pass at that time that Judah went down from his brethren," etc., and the story of Joseph gives place to the disgusting and

¹ In contradistinction to Esau, who had abandoned Canaan for the Seir range of Edom.

totally disconnected narrative of the adventure of Judah and Tamar, his daughter-in-law.¹ This being ended, the last verse of XXXVII. is paraphrased and the story of Joseph proceeds.

The account of Moses' exposure, discovery and adoption by a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh has been doubted by many an earnest and thoughtful biblical scholar. If the genealogies are trustworthy (contra Robinson and Riddle) the doubt becomes a certainty. There is no hint in it that the man of the house of Levi, who took to wife a daughter of Levi, was Levi's grandson, Amram; and with good reason; for, if the reader's attention be drawn to that fact, all the assumptions on which the first chapters of Exodus are founded, the vast multiplication of the Hebrews, their reduction to slavery, the destruction of their male children, etc., are swept away.

The suppression of the name was a cunning and successful artifice of the writer. To this day historians of the Jews, professors of Hebrew literature, orthodox pulpit orators of all denominations, and, what is more strange, writers and lecturers on Egyptian exploration and discovery take all these assumptions for facts and overlook the dozen verses in Ex. VI. 14, et seq., that utterly refute them. True, the stories are cited in the New Testament, but this only proves that they had become current since their incorporation into the Great Roll; but in all the Old Testament, if there be any allusion to them, one instance excepted, it has escaped careful search.

The point is this: Whether much or little weight be attached to the argument from silence, it is against both stories; for if they had been found among the ancient writings used by the B. compilers, it is inconceivable that neither prophet, poet nor historian before or after that compilation was made, ever referred to those wonderful instances of Jahveh's providence in so preparing the right man for the right time and place to preserve, the one, the family, the other, the nation of Israel. The exceptional case is, Joseph sold as a servant in Ps. CV. v. 17. This is an exile or post-exile psalm as it now stands, but the chronicler attributes a part of it, *not* including the allusion to Joseph, to David.² If it was written, as we suppose, to encourage the Judeans to trust in Jahveh, at the time of the wars between Persia and Egypt (B. C.) 400—338), it is no proof that the Joseph story was in the original Great Roll. As to the story of Moses, the argument from silence is perfect, whatever be its value.

¹ Ch. xxxviii.

² I. Ch. xvi. 7, et seq.

All the old Hebrew romances, whether founded upon fact or wholly imaginative, were written to teach some lesson or to produce the effect of an argument, on some topics of special interest at the time. This well-known fact may furnish a clue to the problem before us, viz.: to find approximate dates of the composition of the Joseph and Moses stories and their insertion into the Great Roll. A short historic sketch, condensed in the main from Graetz, is here indispensable.

Zerubbabel came to Jerusalem, B. C. 537. Cyrus died 529. Cambyses, his successor, died 521. During his reign, matters at Jerusalem continually changed from bad to worse, as Haggai and Zechariah (Ch. VII.) witness. The accession of Darius wrought a favorable change, and the two prophets now zealously urged Zerubbabel to resume and complete the work upon the temple. Both, at this time, believed him to be the shoot from Jesse's root that was to restore Israel, and Zechariah promised that, "as the hands of Zerubbabel had laid the foundation of the house, his hands shall also finish it."

Upon the arrival of Helder, Tobijah and Jediah, deputies of the Babylonian Jews and bearers of rich gifts in gold and silver, Zechariah's views underwent a sudden and extraordinary change, manifestly the consequence of instructions received from Babylon.

He crowned the high priest as the single head of the young community, and put the continuation and completion of the work on the temple into his hands,¹ which was completed in 517, in the sixth year of Darius, says Ezra.

Darius felt a strong sympathy for the Jahvists "and all such as had separated themselves from the filthiness of the heathen of the land," and, moreover, there were reasons of state why he should prefer the zealous Jahvists, bound to him by gratitude, to the feeble and inefficient Zerubbabel and his demoralized colony, as occupants of the Judean territory, which lay so directly on the road to Egypt. The Jahvists in Babylon had long since despaired of any good fruit from the shoot from Jesse's root, and lost no time upon the accession of Darius in obtaining from him the recall of Zerubbabel, between 521 and 517. It was one thing to induce the king to this step, a very different one to convince the great body of the Jewish people of its necessity, justice and accordance with the will of Jahveh, for all had been reared in the belief that the shoot was to be of David's line. We have thus an adequate and satisfactory reason for then condensing, out of the chronicles and archives of both kingdoms pre-

¹ Zech. vi. 10, et seq. Ezra, vi. 14.

served in Babylon, that tremendous arraignment of monarchy, which the books of Samuel and Kings present, and that justification of the dealings with Israel by the invisible king, Jahveh, which is the moral of the preceding books, made all the more impressive to that generation by ignoring tribes and princes in that part of the roll afterwards entitled Exodus. If the roll as a whole was primarily history, or intended to be so, it might have been compiled at any time; but the glaring fact is, that it was not so; it is an ethical work, compiled to meet an exigency; and no other can be pointed out than this to which we have ascribed its genesis. Thus its date is fixed about B. C. 521-517. Ezra could have had no hand in it for he came to Jerusalem in 459, and, if born in 517, was but a child.

The writer stands alone in this opinion, probably; certainly so in his belief of a later revision of the Roll when great additions were made. These views must stand upon their own merits, or fall; for no name noted in biblical criticism can be cited in support of either. If anything direct and positive could be pointed out in the Hebrew Bible, either for or against them, it would of course settle the matter; but there is nothing of the kind. To those who hold to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as we have it, and cannot or will not see contradictions and incongruities in it, the question is already settled; but there are multitudes who do perceive them and who would gladly escape the conclusions of the destructive criticism founded upon them. To such, the suggestion of the supposed revision may be welcome and a relief, if shown to be fairly probable. By the dates, as fixed by Graetz in his *Geschichte*, corresponding very nearly to those in the margins of our Bibles, seventy-eight (536-459) years elapsed between the arrivals of Zerubbabel and Ezra in Jerusalem. The grandsons of that first body of returned captives were now on the stage of action. Ezra the puritan, was horror struck at the condition in which he found the community. To proselytes were granted all the rights and privileges of the faithful Jews, and, above all, the custom had obtained of intermarriage with aliens, even in the families of the high priest and leading Levites. Graetz gives strong reasons for considering this latter transgression as a consequence of mistaking the law, which they understood as not forbidding marriage with proselytes.¹ Ezra's exposition of the law was, however, accepted, and he records the names of over a hundred men of the higher classes who "gave their hands that they would put away their wives."

He also carried his point that proselytes should not be put upon an

¹ *Geschichte* ii.^b 118, note.

equality with, nor received into, the full communion of the Jews: The execution of these two reforms was a fruitful source of trouble, though indispensable to the establishment of the pure religious Judaism ultimately effected. Both struck heavy blows at Sanballat and Tobiah, heads respectively of the Samaritans and Ammonites, two ambitious, but, apparently in a sense, sincere Jahvists, who took this rigid separation of the Hebrew community from its alien neighbors in great dudgeon. While Ezra's commissioners were engaged in investigating the mixed marriages in the country places from the first day of the tenth to the first of the first month, they doubtless did their utmost to induce him to relax his severity. He remained immovable and was supported by the majority of the principal men.

From this time dates the bitter hatred of Sanballat and Tobiah for the Jews. They soon proceeded to acts of violence, and finally destroyed the walls of Jerusalem and burnt its gates; and "brought the remnant of the captivity there in the province into great affliction and reproach."¹

Ezra was a student, thinker, teacher, expounder of the law, but not the man for the crisis; or perhaps had not the power from the king to act energetically. Twelve years had passed since his coming and he found himself powerless and the city defenceless.

Fortunately, at the court of Artaxerxes, then in Susa, there was a certain Nehemiah, the king's cup-bearer and favorite, known to Ezra as the man for the occasion. To him he sent a deputation headed by Hanani (Chanani), a relative of Nehemiah, to give him an account of the outrages committed by Sanballat and Tobiah, and implore his aid. How he came to Jerusalem as viceroy of Tirshatha, clad with full powers, rebuilt the walls and adopted and enforced the reforms of Ezra for the next twelve years, is all recorded in his memoir. But no sooner was he away than the high priest, whose bitter enmity he had excited, made friends with the new Tirshatha and renewed the old abuses even to inter-marriage with aliens.

The zealous, faithful Jahvists had an eloquent representative in the prophet Malachi. But in vain he rebuked and exhorted the priests and Levites, who by their iniquities had driven the Lord of Hosts from his holy habitation. It is obvious that he was in correspondence with Nehemiah and was apprised by him of his intended secret and sudden return, for which the faithful, who remembered his former administra-

¹ Neh. i. 3.

tion with deepest gratitude, now yearned. This follows from the first verses of Ch. III., which Graetz, by giving a literal instead of figurative rendering of one clause—"Adon (ruler) into his palace" instead of "Adon (Lord) into his temple"—has first made congruous and clear—to the writer, at least. "Behold I will send my harbinger and he shall prepare the way before me. The ruler whom ye crave (Nehemiah) shall come suddenly to his palace, even the herald of the covenant whom ye demand. Lo, he will come, saith Jahveh Sabaoth. But who (of the transgressors) will bear the day of his coming? Who will stand when he appeareth? For he is like the refiner's fire and the lye of washers," etc. In the last chapter of his memoir, Nehemiah records in few words how literally he sat as a refiner and purified the sons of Levi. Those who would not repent and part with their alien wives were relentlessly banished.

The date is now circa B. C. 420, a century or three generations since the compilation of the Great Roll. During the last half of this century, at three several times, the alien marriages were a "burning question," which was by general consent decided against them. On this, Neh. X. 28, et seq. is specially instructive.

It is now held by all competent critics, we think, that Ruth was written as a protest against Ezra's stern execution of the law on this subject, the point being this: If David, the man after Jahveh's own heart, was the grandson of a half-blood, Obed, the law was practically repealed by Jahveh himself. We hold that the intended moral of the Joseph and Moses stories was precisely the same. In them, each is raised up through a series of interesting and romantic adventures, to become, the one, the savior of the immediate family, and the other, of the multiplied descendants of Jacob. Yet Joseph marries an Egyptian priest's daughter, and Moses, the daughter of a Kenite sheik. The two sons of Joseph are not only recognized as legitimate, but made heads of tribes on an equality with their uncles; and the two sons of Moses are later actually reckoned with the sons of Levi, that class so rigorously purified by Nehemiah. Both stories belong as clearly as Ruth to this period. The answer to them was, that the events related belonged to a period long before Jahveh had made purity of blood a fundamental Hebrew law. As to Ruth, its effect was annulled by the revival of the story of Judah and Tamar, which was later thrust into that of Joseph, where it would surely be read in course in the public readings from the Pentateuch on every Sabbath and festival and twice a week on market days

in the country towns; the point being, that if David's descent from Obed justified marriage with aliens, his descent from Pharez sanctioned incestuous adultery. The Sopherim did not include Ruth in the Roll, but they must have added the last five verses, beginning: Now these are the generations of Pharez.

If this reasoning be sound its conclusions greatly facilitate the solution of the other problem, viz: the revision with additions of the Great Roll.

The generation now living had grown up under the instruction and example of Ezra, Nehemiah, Malachi and others of the faithful priests and Levites, to which the frequent public readings of the Torah gave new force. Being delivered from the malign influence of the banished transgressors of the Law, it had become zealously puritan and the new Judaism was firmly established. Sanballat and Tobiah saw all hope of ever being admitted into the Hebrew religious communion on equal terms annihilated.

"One of the sons of Joiada (grandson, says Josephus) son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite, therefore, I chased him from me," writes Nehemiah. Josephus gives his name Manasseh, and that of his wife Nikason. They joined Sanballat in Samaria. The embittered foes of the Judeans had now for allies a body of Levites with an Aaronite priest at their head, all learned in the law.

The credit of great cunning and shrewdness cannot be denied to the confederates, qualities very remarkably exhibited in devising and executing a project now formed. This was the erection of a temple to Jahveh—a rival to that in Jerusalem—with Manasseh for high priest and the banished Levites for its other officials. The site was Mt. Gerisim, the mount of blessing of Deut. XXVII. and Josh. VIII., which they affirmed was the place chosen by Jahveh "to put his name there;" Mt. Moriah having been chosen by David only from personal and ambitious motives.

How their arguments were met is stated by Graetz in his fine account of the religious ordinances, ceremonies and practices of this period.

"There was no material difference, at first, in the morning services of the Sabbaths and festivals, except that on the latter a special short prayer was introduced with a view to mark and call attention to the sacredness of the day. The festival service was in no manner made

the more important, except that at its close a longer section of the Torah was read. But after a time were added readings from the prophets of such passages as had reference to the particular festivals and explained their objects. The occasion of this lay in the antagonism which had arisen between the Judeans and Samaritans. The latter denied the holiness of the temple and Jerusalem and utterly rejected the prophets, because they so abound in notices of the city of God, and of its being the divinely chosen seat of the sanctuary. It appeared, therefore, all the more necessary to the representatives of Judaism to summon the prophets as witnesses to this, in a certain sense, fundamental article of faith, to magnify the importance of their testimony and bring it before the minds of believers, Sabbath after Sabbath, and at all festivals...."

"This regulation rendered it indispensable to collect and determine the prophet literature, or, rather, to declare what books belong to it and what should be excluded. It is in the highest degree probable that this selection was made by the ruling authorities of this period, the Sopherim."¹

Until after the accession of Artaxerxes II. (B. C. 404) the intercourse between the Judean and Babylonian Jews was free, and it was easy to obtain from the Jahvists on the Euphrates copies of any desired writings there only preserved.

After that glorious period of Hebrew literature, from Job and Deutero-Isaiah to the exquisite narratives just noticed, there is a long period, two centuries at least, without a great name or literary production to mark it. Was this owing to intellectual poverty, or had the rulers and learned Levites other matters that claimed their attention? Probably both; moreover there was no other incentive then to authorship than the controversies with the Samaritans, and this only to the extent of collecting and editing the prophets. The strange execution of this work proves its editors capable of any critical atrocity.

What was, several years since, but a faint conjecture—how suggested is long ago forgotten—has gradually developed into the firm conviction of the writer, that the men of the Great Assembly, Josephus' Expounders of the Law, the Hebrew Sopherim of this period, having begun with the prophets, ended with a revision and a new amplified edition of the Great Roll. They had collected a large mass of manuscripts and desired to preserve much of their contents in a form that

¹ *Geschichte* ii. 189.

would ensure their public reading; this they effected by introducing it into the roll, at the same time adding increased interest and a new charm to the readings from it.

It is not supposed that they had any such purpose in mind at the beginning, on the contrary, we apprehend the facts to have been substantially as follows:

The immediate object of the assembly in undertaking a literary task was, as we have just seen, to decide between the true and false prophetic writings and collect the former into one roll for public reading. When this work was ended, the thought had arisen of utilizing portions of other manuscripts collected for the same purpose. But how? After much cogitation and debate, it was decided to divide the Great Roll at the point where Moses dies, and to subdivide the second half into the four books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, insert the additions, the song of Deborah, the apochryphal stories at the end of the book of Judges, etc., and prefix them to the roll of the Prophets under the title of "Elder Prophets." The first half was also subdivided into four books. To the first division, the Book of Origins, they added the story of Joseph. To the second, Exodus, they prefixed that of Moses, and probably inserted other passages. The third division they expanded into the book Leviticus, by collecting (not making a digest of) the old and new statutes from the time of Moses to their own day. In the fourth division, Numbers, the principal addition is the story of Balaam. The noble Digest of the Laws down to the time of Hezekiah, Deuteronomy, thrust in between the closing paragraphs of Numbers, completed the Pentateuch. All this was no holiday task but must have been the labor of years.

Taking B. C. 420 as the date of Manasseh's banishment, time must be allowed for the genesis and execution of the Gerisim temple project; for a period of controversy to which it gave rise; for the collection, consideration, selecting and editing of the prophetic writings; for the compilation of the levitical codes; and for the final revision and copying out of the two great rolls—the Law and the Prophets. As the question was never before raised, we know not what arguments can be produced against the conclusion that there *was* a revision and enlargement of the B. compilers' Great Roll, between B. C. 400 and 375.

NOTE VIII.

THE FIFTEENTH NISAN.

Nisan is used in the text as the name of the passover month, though it occurs only in Nehemiah and Esther, because it is that which is now given by the almanacs in the calendar of the Jewish festivals. The passover is a movable festival, and the 15th Nisan, during the ten years 1883-92, has fallen successively upon April 22, 10, March 31, April 20, 9, March 27, April 16, 5, 23, 12—the greatest difference being between March 27 and April 23, four weeks.

Graetz, in Note 19, to Vol. I. of his *Geschichte*, has, for the first time, explained and adjusted the seeming contradictions in the chronologies of the kings of Israel and Judah. One of the points in his very remarkable discussion of that topic is this; Down to the division of the kingdom, the Hebrews knew only the lunar year. Jeroboam returning after a long sojourn in Egypt to become king of the northern realm, introduced there Apis worship and, with it, the Egyptian solar year, but in Judea the lunar year still obtained.

Hezekiah reformed it by introducing at due intervals an intercalary month, thus making certain years to consist of thirteen months. As the new moon was a festival, it was a custom, in later times at least, for the rulers to post observers on some mountain height—at one period the Mt. of Olives—to announce by waving torches the appearance of the crescent in the west. The signal was repeated from height to height in all directions, even to Babylon, so that all should observe the festival simultaneously. This, of course, enabled all to observe the other festivals, the dates of which depended upon the new moon, at the same time. It is obvious that this system of signals could not be extended to Egypt, Asia Minor and Europe; and this with various other causes, but more because the progress in astronomical knowledge rendered it unnecessary, led in time to its abandonment. Hillel II. in whose Patriarchate the Emperor Julian proposed to rebuild the temple¹, gave it the fatal stroke by sending to the Jewish communities in all lands a set of rules (A. D. 359) easily comprehended, for determining astronomically the time of new moon, and so correct that they still serve. And yet, the greatest error could never have been more than two days, and usually the next new moon would correct that.

¹ Gibbon. Ch. xxiii.

The trouble arose from the fact that the lunar month is $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. The half day was disposed of by adding to the four full weeks of the month (28 days), one and two days alternately; making the lunar year (as in fact it does) consist of six months of 29 days and six of 30, in all 354 days, eleven less than the solar year. Small fractions of days are here not noticed because of no importance in the matter before us.

In three years, therefore, there were 33 days, or a month and three or four days, *plus*, to be provided for; hence the intercalary or 13th lunar month, without which Nisan, and, of course, all the months in some thirty-five years, would have occupied the places of all successively, and have returned to their proper places in the solar year.

"It is historically attested," says Graetz, "that, to the time of Hezekiah, the feast of the passover was never celebrated in common. Even in the days of David and Solomon it was never *so* celebrated. The *so* is to be understood thus: Down to Hezekiah, notwithstanding the central *cultus* in Jerusalem, the *bamoth* (high places) existed, as is repeatedly, emphatically stated in I. and II. Kings. These *bamoth* were places of worship for families or tribal groups. The paschal lamb was offered by various groups on different *bamoth*; there was no general communion in the celebration; even as to the day, uniformity was lacking." All this was changed by Hezekiah.

There had never been any difficulty as to the season of the passover. As the summer month, July, begins the year in the American era, the Independence of the United States, so the spring month, Nisan, began the years of the era, the Independence of the Hebrews; an era which, possibly, but for the unpardonable carelessness of the B. compilers, might have preserved an unbroken chronology from the exodus. There seems to have been trouble in certain years in deciding which of two new Moons in the spring should be taken as 1st Nisan. The month was associated with the vernal equinox, and there was another indication which usually might be relied upon, though depending upon circumstances that might at times render it untrustworthy.

In Leviticus II. 14, we read, "If thou offer a meat offering of thy first-fruits unto the Lord, thou shalt offer for the meat offering of thy first-fruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, *even* corn beaten out of full ears."

"Ears of corn" is here *abib*; also in Ex. IX. 31-32, "barley in the ear" is *abib*; "and the flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley *was* in the ear, and the flax *was* balled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten; for they *were* not grown up."

"The month *Abib*" in the English version of Ex. XIII. 4, is, in the Vulgate, "the month of the new grain," and in Philippon, "the earing month." Fürst defines *abib* not as barley, but as the month when winter grains eared or headed, citing this verse. His Hebrew word for barley is totally different. As barley headed or eared earlier than other grains (see the citation just above), its earing usually indicated the new moon that began the month. *Abib*, the earing month, is the name used in the Pentateuch. "The paschal lambs," continues Graetz, "were, to be sure, offered in the spring. But who had fixed the month by calendar? Even if there had been any public authority competent to this function—and every proof of this is lacking—the people did not respect it. The law for the celebration of this festival at the ripening of barley was, therefore, a dead letter. With Hezekiah the conditions changed at once. He absolutely forbade sacrifices on the *bamoth* and thus put an end to private sanctuaries. Whoever would sacrifice must thenceforth go to Jerusalem. Under Hezekiah for the first time, and in Jerusalem, the Passover was celebrated in general communion. To this end it was necessary to determine the day."

This led to the reformed calendar.

The reader will see upon a moment's reflection that there was no means of determining upon what day of the solar year the 15th Abib-Nisan fell in the spring of the exodus; that nothing more could be settled by Hezekiah than the days in the future on which the new moon of that month would appear, and as they constantly varied with the limits of four weeks, the passover is necessarily a movable festival to that extent.

We now come to the question which has led here to what may strike some readers as a rather long and not very pertinent note.

The B. compilers wrote under the impression that Zoan was the exodus Pharaoh's capital, and if correctly, no doubts based upon considerations of the dates recorded or reasonably inferred can be cast upon their story of the last plagues and the departure from Goshen—that particular class of objections has no force. But with Thebes as the capital, 300 miles away, the conditions are gravely changed, and the question is, are not the dates now fatal to their narrative?

On the 15th Zif (or Ijar), the second month, that is, thirty days from Goshen, Moses' headquarters were in the wilderness of Sin. The events of these thirty days will soon show that the first full moon after the equinox must have been, at the latest, in the first week of April, and this

limits the inquiry in that direction. On the other hand, if we assume the last four plagues—the hail, the locusts, the darkness and the pestilence—to be an unbroken series immediately preceding the exodus, a limit in the other direction is also found, viz: the earing of barley in the Nile valley, some time earlier than in cooler Palestine, in February, followed not long after by the destruction of the young wheat, etc., by clouds of locusts. In the text, March 1st is named as a date when Moses and Aaron were in Thebes, but there is nothing to prove that they were not there earlier. The authorities cited by Fürst agree in giving the middle of March as the time when the Kamsin usually begins to blow. The atmosphere is filled by clouds of heated dust, the sun is hidden and the obscurity increases with frightful suddenness to the darkness of night. Seeteen, then at Cairo, notes under the date of March 13, 1809; "To-day blew for the first time the true Chammaszin." The breaking out of the pestilence, that ancient and modern scourge of the Nile valley, is associated with the coming of the Kamsin, and reaches its height early in April.

Aside from the very natural exaggerations to give the story the color of a series of miracles, there is nothing at all incredible in the account of these plagues as having taken place in February and March. The pestilence having forced from the Pharaoh the warrant demanded, the Hebrew embassy returned in all haste to Goshen. How many days did the journey require?

Major Wayne, in his report to the United States government on the "Naturalization of the Camel," states that a saddle dromedary or camel can, on an emergency, make from seventy to ninety miles a day, but not more than two or three days together, and that over a level road; but Sir Richard Burton, "riding very early and very late," accomplished but eighty-four miles in two days. Speaking on this, Sir Richard said to the writer; "Wayne is correct; mine was an ordinary Egyptian camel; but in any case, five to six days would be required for a caravan like that of this embassy to reach Goshen."

If the story was only not in the Pentateuch. If found in an Egyptian papyrus, on Assyrian tablets, on a Mesa stone, or in Herodotus, who would object to the following as historic facts?

Hail devastated barley fields in the Nile valley just as the grain was in the ear; clouds of locusts soon after devoured the young wheat and spelt; the Kamsin came somewhat earlier than usual, bringing impenetrable darkness and the pestilence; the Pharaoh was forced by his

ministers and the people to grant the warrant demanded; the embassy hastened from the pestilence to Goshen, and arrived there in season to begin the migration in the first week of April.

NOTE IX.

A NOTE TO THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

The explanation and vindication of the itinerary in this chapter, though they differ very materially from those of Graetz, were nevertheless suggested by him; and the argument for Jebel Araif as the true Sinai, with slight modifications and additions, is condensed from him. His views on these topics are presented in Note 3, *Der Durchgang durch das rothe Meer*; Note 4, *Die Wüstenwanderung der Israeliten* (with special reference to Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*), and Note 10, *Der Schauplatz von David's Fluchtwanderungen*, etc., all in the appendix to his *Geschichte B. I.*, and an article, *Die Lage des Sinai oder Horeb*, in *Frankel-Graetz's Monatsschrift*, B. XXVII. Heft VIII., August 1878, based upon Palmer's explorations. Beginning with suggestions derived from these sources, the vindication of the itinerary in this chapter was wrought out solely from the biblical text. Not until it was complete were Palmer's and other works consulted, for the use of which the writer was indebted to the late honored and beloved Sir Richard F. Burton, who for several years past has taken extraordinary interest in our studies of this subject (See Vol. VI. of the Supplemental "Arabian Nights" pp. 112-117). Citations from Palmer are now made and his map freely used to sustain previously formed conclusions, some of which are singularly at variance with those of Palmer himself.

In the articles above named, Graetz has pointed out and corrected so many errors of Palmer—which, however, do not come within the scope of this essay—as to render his opinions of comparatively small weight, though the record of his explorations is invaluable.

NOTE X.

THE SUPPLY OF MANNA.

Notwithstanding the discrepancy between Ex. XVI. and Numb. XI., it is generally, if not universally, accepted that the whole congregation of the children of Israel fed upon manna. From the two chapters one learns that it was "a small, round thing" like coriander seed in form, size and color, tasting like wafers made with honey and also like fresh

oil. It was ground in mills or beaten in mortars, boiled or baked in pans or made into cakes. Joshua, v. 10-12, confirms the statement in Exodus that manna was eaten forty years, for it ceased at Gilgal "on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land." It is very surprising, after Moses defeated Sihon and "possessed his land from Arnon to Jab-bok," that it did not then cease.

The Wisdom of Solomon adds certain particulars of interest. "Thou feddest thine own people with angels' food and didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labor, able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taste. For thy sustenance declared thy sweetness unto thy children, and serving to the appetite of the eater tempered itself to every man's liking."¹

Allioli comments on this, "That is, whatever any one desired, the manna assumed its flavor. The holy fathers, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, remark that the manna possessed this quality only for true believers, not the discontented Israelites, like the most holy sacrament at the altar, of which it was the type, which imparts its various spiritual virtues to those only who receive it worthily."

One is not surprised at the wrath of Jahveh, when the people complained because their diet was confined to manna, a food that by these authorities assumed any taste desired, from an oyster to turtle soup, a cutlet to roast beef, a potato to a pumpkin, or a cranberry to a pineapple. But these authorities are rejected by Protestants, who now exclude the Book of Wisdom from their bibles.

But the Protestant Bibles agree with the Vulgate in making every man collect for himself and for those in his tent; also in numbering the military force at 600,000 men, and we will for convenience in computation, employ only that number in collecting "the small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground," to the amount of an omer per man. By Webster's dictionary, an omer is a fraction more than half a peck. Other authorities vary a little, but the average of them all is very nearly half a peck, or four quarts; 600,000 men therefore gather 300,000 pecks or 75,000 bushels five days in the week and on the sixth, 150,000, the supply for two days; but if an omer was gathered for every adult person, as Exodus XVI. 16, is understood to affirm, the amounts are increased respectively to 250,000 and 500,000 bushels. Statistics are usually dull reading but very instructive. They teach us in this case

¹ Ch. xvi. 20, 21.

that for forty years, every morning, Sabbaths excepted, summer and winter, rain or sunshine, in camp or on the march, the first business was the gathering of 75,000 (or 250,000) bushels of those small, round grains, grinding them in mills or beating them in mortars and cooking them in divers manners; after which, the people could proceed to their various duties, from feeding the cattle to fighting the Amalekites or Sihon king of the Amorites.

It cannot be denied that such a supply of such food daily for forty years, 14,600 days, was a miracle indeed; "and miracles were facts; then a few men out of the hundreds (in this case, hundreds of thousands) of witnesses were inspired to record and describe them, and the inspiration was another miracle." A third is a corollary of these, viz: Omnipotence has so constituted the minds of reasonable beings, that they can swallow this manna story without question.

NOTE XI.

ELDERS OF ISRAEL AT SINAI.

In Ex. XIX. 7, the elders of the people are undoubtedly those with whom the Hebrew princes had negotiated in Goshen. This chapter makes it clear that all proceedings beyond the barrier on and about the mountain were purposely shrouded in profound mystery to the freedmen, and that their elders could not have been admitted into the secrets of the Hebrew leaders. Hence, in XXIV. 1, the elders of Israel could only have been the seventy princes of the senate. In v. 9, by the light afforded from v. 1 and 11, they were, we think, the elders of the freedmen.

Read v. 9-11, "Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel. And they saw the God of Israel; and *there was* under his feet, as it were, a paved work of a sapphire stone, and, as it were, the body of heaven in *his* clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand; also they saw God, and did eat and drink."

The words for prince, head of house and noble differ as much in the Hebrew as in the English, and the last is understood to be used here to avoid the others and so, by this device, remain true to the purpose of ignoring the princes; but their presence during the two days seems to us indubitable and, in fact, necessary. Yet, if not so, conceive a scene, if possible, analogous to this, in which the government of the United

States or Great Britain takes part. It is easy to fancy the dignity that would be imparted to it by the appearance in a body of the United States Senate or the British House of Lords.

The feasting in common after making a solemn covenant was, as usual, a practice in those days, as a grand dinner after concluding a treaty of the negotiators is in our times.

NOTE XII.

THE LAWS AGAINST BESTIALITY.

Historians of the Jews, Graetz included, give vivid pictures of the moral degradation of the Hebrews in Egypt in consequence of their supposed four centuries of slavery. How deeply they had sunk may be read, they say, in Herodotus, Strabo and the 18th chapter of Leviticus; for slaves are never purer than their masters, as modern slavery in the United States, for instance, has proved.

There is not a word of objection to this, if applied to the freed Ruthenu. But we have never found a particle of evidence that it was in any age true of the real Hebrews, or even of the freedmen after they became "Seed of Abraham by adoption" and were purified in the days of Moses and Joshua, under whom the then third generation came to manhood.

The omission of all specific statutes on the subject in the Hezekian code (Deuteronomy) is noted in the text as proof of the fact. It is doubtful if even in the northern kingdom the degeneration of the people ever reached this degree, and certainly not in the southern. We find no allusion to bestial crime, either in II. Kings XVII., or in the denunciations of the prophets, as a cause of the destruction of either kingdom, though, possibly, others may. If we are right, there was but one moment in Hebrew history when the laws in question were pertinent or called for, viz: after the covenant with the freedmen at Horeb.

They are thus a proof of the antiquity of at least a part of the Levitical code.

NOTE XIII.

VAHEB IN SUPHAH.

Between the notices of crossing the Arnon and sending a deputation to Sihon, namely, verses 14 to 20 inclusive, of Numb. XXI., there are citations from a poem or poems which have been, in part, variously translated and are still a stumbling block to commentators. They cannot be passed over by the writer in silence for two reasons; first, because they

seem to afford a strong argument against the accuracy of the itinerary; and second, because, as he understands them, they have a decided historic value.

From the Vulgate, Allioli obtains this sense, "Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord: As he did in the Red Sea, so will he also do to the streams of the Arnon (*i. e.*, open a passage through them). The rocks of the torrents rolled forth to rest in Ar, to lie on the border of Moab." He admits the extremely forced construction of this in a note. "The Hebrew of verses 14-15 may be translated—The Vaheb-Besupha and the brooks of the Arnon, and the outflow of the brooks, that run toward the dwelling of Ar and lean on the border of Moab."

The English Bible reads, "What he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon. And at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab."

The Revised Version gives the passage:

"Vaheb in Suphah, And the valleys of Arnon
And the slope of the valleys
That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar
And leaneth upon the border of Moab,"

and adds a marginal note to the word Suphah, or, "in storm," and leaves the reader to find a sense in it if he can.

Allioli also notes that the Book of the Wars "probably contained Amorite songs on the war between the Moabites and Amorites."

Fürst, even, is of opinion that the songs were not by Hebrews, though in a cognate dialect, and Philippson remarks to v. 27-30 of the same chapter, Come unto Heshbon, etc., "The whole is a song of triumph of the Amorites over the Moabites." A sufficient answer to all this is, that the Roll was a Book of the wars of Jahveh, a title without pertinence unless the wars were those of Hebrews after Jahveh became the name of their God.

And now turn to Graetz.

"The change consequent upon the victories at Jahaz and Edrei, so unexpected and so pregnant in results, begat songs, the first traces of a talent without which no people can reach any very high stage of civilization. The first songs which the Hebrew muse chanted were of war and victory. The composers of these (Moschlim) found such immediate favor that their productions were preserved in a collection, "The Roll of the Wars of Jahveh." Of these songs, only fragments of three have been preserved. The least comprehensible of these pictures,

probably, the movements of the tribes to the moment when they could encamp in security. The second is a song of wells, when they dug the first well in the late Amorite lands and thereby proclaimed their intention to take permanent possession. All the heads of the families were present with their staves, and from this circumstance the place received the name "Princes' Spring," the Beer Elim of Isaiah XV. 8. The third was composed at the rebuilding of Sihon's capital, Heshbon.

"The young Hebrew muse shows in these first efforts neither depth nor polish, it is true, but even now has two characteristics, which it later developed into the utmost possible elegance and subtlety. In form, it has already symmetry of the verse members (*parallelismus membrorum*). In two or three parts of the stanza the same thought is repeated with suitable change. In its substance, the young Hebrew muse already assumed a tone of irony, which comes from considering events from a two-fold point of view—the ideal and the real so little corresponding to it."¹

Graetz cites as an example, a part of the verses 28-30 of this chapter; but his point can be made clear to readers of the English version only by giving the whole, modified from German versions. Verses 27-29 are the supposed boastings of the Amorites after their conquest; v. 30 is spoken by Hebrews after the fall of Sihon.

"Wherefore say the poets:

Come to Heshbon!

The city of Sihon shall be built and established.

For fire went forth from Heshbon,

Flames from Sihon's city,

Which devoured Ar in Moab,

The lords of the heights of the Arnon.

Woe to thee Arnon.²

Woe to thee Moab!

Ye are lost, Folk of Chemosh,³

He himself (Chemosh) has delivered his sons as fugitives

And his daughters as captives

To Sihon king of the Amorites.

We (Hebrews) have shot. Heshbon is fallen even to Dibon;

And we have laid waste to Nobah

Even unto Medeba."

¹Geschichte I. 55-56.

²This line from the Syrian version.

³The Moabite god.

The Hebrew authorship of these ancient poems being thus settled, we return to the Vaheb in Suphah.

Philippon notes that the LXX. must have taken the letter *vau* for a *zain* so very similar in form, and read z h b for r h b, which he thinks an error, but Graetz believes that they translated from a manuscript which did read z h b, and there was no mistake. It is one of the instances in the Hebrew bible where the change of a single letter illuminates a long paragraph; in this case, vaheb, a word nowhere else found and never satisfactorily explained, becomes Zahab, the Di-Zahab of Deut. I. 1.

Dizahab in Fürst's Lexicon is "Place of Gold," Graetz translates, it, "near the gold mines," i. e. of Edom, and this is why the name does not appear in the itinerary; the encampment was not *at* the mines but *near* them in Ije-Abarim.

In an Egyptian inscription, Ramses III. "brake forth like a storm wind to do battle in the battlefield and all his heroes also." Suphah is stormwind, and with Zahab gives the clue to the sense of the passage to fully understand which, however, requires a preliminary remark or two.

The last clause of v. 18 and verses 19 and 20 are a part of the same ballad, of which transcribers have destroyed the poetic form, and are to be read as immediately following and joined to v. 15. These verses contain words which the Vulgate, the English and other versions take to be names of encampments; the targums do not, nor Philippon, who gives strong reasons against them; we add another as decisive; if they are names of stations, they, with those in the itinerary, make nine encampments—Dibon Gad to Abelshittim—in a distance of hardly thirty miles, which is absurd.

Again; to doubt that Moses at Ije-Abarim had a thorough knowledge of the topography of the upper Arnon district through his scouts, is to doubt his possession of military common sense. It was precisely this knowledge which enabled him to plan and execute the rapid movement noted in our text. Finally, the stanzas before us show that minute familiarity with the features of the country that the Reubenites who settled it and the Levites allotted to it, must have possessed, and which gives vividness to the ballad.

Our interpretation of these stanzas is this: they are the introduction to a ballad on the battle of Jahaz, precisely as the first stanzas in the old English ballad in Percy's Reliques, "The Battle of Otterbourne," describes the ride of "dowghtye Dowglasse" and his party into Northom-

berlonde. If Jahaz was near Heshbon as stated in our text, the movement was along the declivities of, and parallel to, the Abarim.

The Hebrew text begins abruptly without a verb and one must be supplied.

Moses and his army then

- v. 14. (brake forth)
From Dizahab like the stormwind
To the brooks of Arnon
- 15. And the outflow of the brooks
That turns to the seat of Ar
And skirts the border of Moab.
- Close of 18. From the midbar to the gift (Mattanah)
- 19. From the gift into the gorge of God (Nahaliel)
From the gorge of God to the ridge (bamoeth)
- 20. From the ridge through the valley in the fields of Moab
To the summit of the height that overlooks Jeshimon
(Jeshimoth?)

It is submitted that this can only be a poetic description of the forced march from Ije-Abarim near the gold mines, Dizahab, to the *midbar* Kedemoth and thence to the ridge of Nebo. To describe the slow movements of the great body of the Hebrews thus would be nonsense. The verses 16-18 are a gloss upon the word *mattanah* (the gift) that is, of the well, "whereof Jahveh said unto Moses, Gather the people together and I will *give them water*."

NOTE XIV.

BALAAM AN EDMITE.

No hint is found in any accessible work, that any American or English biblical scholar has ever doubted the Syrian domicile of Balaam, or that the successive deputations to him traveled the more than 400 miles each way, hither and thither. One would think that this alone might have awakened a suspicion of error, and the later statements, he "rose up and went and returned to his place" and yet was slain with the sword in the destruction of the Midianites, could hardly have left a doubt of it.

The texts which bear upon the point are:

1. Numb. XXII. 5, the versions of which vary more or less materially.

English version: "He sent messengers, therefore, unto Balaam the son of Beor to Pethor, which *is* by the river of the land of the children of his people."

Rev. V.: "to Pethor which is by the river, to the land," etc.

Philippon: "to Pethor which is the stream of his fatherland."

Vienna Bible: "to Pethor which lies on the stream in the land of the children of his fathers."

These variations are slight, but note now

The Vulgate: "He sent messengers to Balaam son of Beor the soothsayer, who dwelt by the river of the land of the *sons of Ammon*."

Philippon himself admits that the ancient Syrian version, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and many Hebrew manuscripts read, like the Vulgate, sons or children of Ammon.

2. Numb. XXIII. 7, all these versions substantially agree in this: Balak hath brought me, Balaam, "from Aram out of the mountains of the east."

3. Deut. XXIII. 4, "Balaam the son of Beor of Pethor of Mesopotamia."

Here also the versions agree substantially.

There are in these texts two questions to decide; in the first, between children of his fathers "and children of Ammon;" in the second and third, between Aram and — what?

All known manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are professedly copies of the Masoretic text, and yet some of them read, "children of Ammon." The Samaritan Pentateuch, the Syrian and Vulgate versions are all centuries older than the Masoretic and, therefore, were made from manuscripts which had the same reading.

The preponderance of evidence is, therefore, largely in its favor, and no one would contest it, but for the Aram or Mesopotamia in the other two citations.

The error, Aram for Edom in Judges III. 8, 10, has been pointed out. Graetz corrects the same in

II. Sam. XV. 8. For Syria read Edom as in the Syriac version.

I. Kings XI. 28. " the same " " Syriac V. and Septuagint.

Isaiah IX. 12. " the same " Syriac V.

Jeremiah XXXV. 11. For Army of Syrians, read Edomites; on the contrary, in I. Kings XI. 1, for Edomites read Syrians.

Aram in the two citations is simply a scribe's mistake for Edom, and Graetz, therefore, writes in his history, a Midianite or Idumean sorcerer, Balaam son of Beor.

NOTE XV.

EARLY FIGS IN SPRING.

A note upon early figs seems rather superfluous certainly; but the omission of a clause of the original in Graetz's version, the notes on the verse in two commentaries, and the article Fig-tree in a cyclopædia before me, show clearly that the writers did not know the tree from personal observation and did not understand the clause omitted by Graetz. The English version gives it, but whether so as to convey the sense of the Hebrew is a question: "I saw your fathers as the first ripe in the fig-tree at her first time;" in the R. V., first season. Our version has in Isaiah XXVIII. 4, the hasty fruit before the summer. R. V., first ripe figs before the summer. Here, as in Allioli's and Philipppson's notes upon it, the allusion of the prophet seems to be ill understood.

The same remark applies to Jeremiah XXIV. 1-2, Nahum III. 12, and Solomon's song II. 13. The R. V. gives the last thus:

"The fig-tree ripeneth her green figs
And the vines are in blossom," etc.

Here we have figs ripening and vines blossoming at the same time, yet in Neh. XIII. 15, new wine, grapes and figs are brought to the Jerusalem market together,

By translating the verse in Hosea thus: I saw your fathers as the ripe figs of the fig-tree's first crop, all these passages are made clear; for that tree, as every one knows who has spent a summer where it flourishes, bears two crops. The first is that of the large, luscious figs four or five inches long, that do ripen when the vine is in blossom, and, in ancient Judea, were the first fresh fruit after the winter was past, the rain was over and gone and the flowers appeared on the earth.

As this first crop disappears, minute green knobs protrude from the branches and slowly develop into the small figs of commerce. As in Nehemiah's time, they still come into the markets with the grapes.

NOTE XVI.

ALLOTMENT OF CANAAN.

The supposed modifications of the apportionment by lot, made by general consent, are a point not noticed by any writer at hand, except Philipppson, and by him only in the cases of Judah and Ephraim. Yet the fact seems to the writer indisputable.

I. Judah and Simeon already possessed the Negeb, Arad and Caleb (of Judah) claimed a right to Hebron. Was it simply good fortune in a lottery that gave to Judah a district containing both, and to Simeon "an inheritance within the inheritance of Judah?"

II. By the order of march established at Horeb, the tribes of Joseph's two sons and of his brother Benjamin, formed one division, and thus, for more than forty years, were associated together. Half Manasseh only was now to be provided for, and by Josh. XVI. 1, Ephraim and this half tribe together drew one lot which kept them in adjoining districts. Was it, then, another mere lucky chance that Benjamin's district joined Ephraim?

III. Dan, Naphtali and Asher had also formed one division through all these years. Dan was now separated but the other two were not, and when later, Dan divided, the one part removed north and joined them.

IV. Reuben and Gad, joined at Horeb, were still together in the trans-Jordan territory.

V. Zebulon and Issachar in the Judah division were separated from that tribe, but not from each other. Graetz must have held the story of the lots for a fable, since he passes it by in his history without note or comment.

One is not conscious of the confusion in the accounts of the conquest in Joshua and Judges I. until he endeavors to form a connected and congruous narrative of them.

By the marginal chronology in English Bibles, which seems to be generally accepted, the conquest of central and southern Canaan was effected in the first year, of northern in the second, and the allotments to the tribes in the seventh, the year by the same authority when "the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh and set up the tabernacle of the congregation there. And the land was subdued before them."

This cannot have been the fact. Gilgal was not a suitable base for the later military operations when once central Palestine was occupied, nor, on sanitary grounds, for an encampment of seven years in duration.

"Besides, in chapters XVIII.-XXII. of Joshua where Shiloh is often mentioned as the seat of the cultus and of the assembly, the Septuagint has Shiloh instead of Shechem in XXIV. 1, 25. In fact, the circumstance noted in v. 26 suits Shiloh far better than Shechem where there was no sanctuary. In v. 25, too, that version reads, "in Shiloh before the tent of God," which cannot be said of Shechem." Thus Graetz,¹ who adds with

¹ Geschichte i. 70.

his reasons therefor that Salem in Ps. LXXVI. 2 (Compare Ps. LXXVIII. 60) certainly, Shalem in Gen. XXXIII. 18 very probably, and Salem in Gen. XIV. 18, perhaps, are all errors for Shiloh.

We understand Shiloh to have been that city of Shechem before which Jacob pitched his tent when returning from Padan-aram, and near which he bought a field and erected his altar, El Elœ-Israel. If so, we have another reason why Joshua should remove the encampment thither so soon as the progress of the invasion rendered it safe; and that was long before the seventh year.

It must also have been before the campaign against Jabin and his confederates, related in Ch. XI. Jabin was taken by surprise.

This could not be if this point of departure was Gilgal. The distance (air-line) thence to Lake Merom is ninety miles and there are ranges of mountains between. A surprise by an army crossing the ranges and marching through the enemy's country was out of the question. From Shiloh the distance is some seventy miles, and much of the way the army would be hidden by those ranges. Still, a surprise at Lake Merom could hardly be possible, but may not the Waters of Merom be an error?

Jabin's confederates were in part kings in "the plains south of Lake Genesereth, in the valley and in the borders of Dor on the west" (v. 2). Did these petty chieftains waste time in combining their forces by marching twenty-five, thirty or more miles north to Lake Merom only to retrace their steps in moving against the Hebrews? Jabin's capital was Hazor. Between it and the territory already occupied by Joshua lay the later districts of Naphtali, Zebulon and Issachar. There was every reason why the confederates should meet as far south as was practicable. In comparing divers versions, one exception is found to the translation, "Waters of Merom;" it is in the Vienna Bible and reads, Water, in the singular.

Is this a distinction without a difference? We turn to the verse (Josh. XI. 7), in the Hebrew and find not *maim* (waters) nor *jam* (lake) but *me*, a word, says Fürst, usually connected with names of brooks, rivers, etc., in short, running water. If any name of a place can be found to the south that might easily be changed by copyists to Merom, the camp of the confederates was certainly there. One of Jabin's allies was Jobab king of Madon, and *m r m* is a ready mistake for *m d n* in Hebrew letters. Madon has been identified, and lies not far west of Lake Genesereth at the eastern foot of a mountain range (by the maps), over twenty miles south of Lake Merom, and about fifty north of Shiloh.

The stream that passes it into Lake Genesareth is the Me-Madon. From Shiloh Joshua could adopt the tactics of Moses against Sihon. His veteran army was unencumbered with trains other than those of pack animals. His march was masked by ranges of heights. Sweeping on like the storm-wind, in three or four days he could cross the last and "with all the people of war come against them by the water of Madon suddenly." The story is perfectly credible by reading Shiloh for Gilgal and only so.

It is very remarkable that neither in Joshua nor Judges is there any account of the taking of Shechem and the later territory of Ephraim; probably, because after the destruction of Jericho, Ai and Bethel, there was so little resistance; the inhabitants having fled, a portion of them, says old tradition, even to Africa; but that the land was immediately seized follows from the ceremony of taking possession of the "promised land," which was performed at Mts. Ebal and Gerisim.¹

It can hardly be contended that after this the actors in the scene returned, passing Shiloh to breathe the pestiferous wind from the Dead Sea at Gilgal for any length of time. But the removal of Shiloh was prevented from immediately taking place. The Gibeonites having cheated Joshua and the assembly into a league with them, sent an urgent demand for protection against a confederacy of the principal chieftains in the later Judea, who were approaching with heavy forces to destroy them. The tidings were welcome; for to rout them was to open all southern Canaan to invasion at a blow. It is but some twenty miles from Gilgal to Gibeon, near to which the enemy had advanced. With characteristic energy Joshua led his army by a forced march "all night" to the attack, took them by surprise and "slew them with a great slaughter." He followed up the victory by a short, sharp, decisive campaign in which all the country from Gibeon to Kadesh-barnea was subdued, except certain "fenced cities" that were taken afterwards. There is no place mentioned in the record of the campaign that is a hundred miles from Gilgal, and the narrative is perfectly credible. Therefore, with all our respect for the opinions of Graetz, partly on grounds supplied by himself, we find it impossible to accept his statement that, "so long as the conquest and possession of the land was not completed, Joshua and his army returned thither" that is to Gilgal; and we date the removal of the encampment to Shiloh at the end of this campaign, at the latest, in the second year of the invasion.

¹ Joshua viii. 30, et seq.

Here, at the Place of Rest (Shiloh) the tabernacle was now again set up to remain the center of Jahveh worship until its removal to Gibeah in Samuel's time. Here also was the great tent of meeting, the civil and political center, until the final grand assembly of princes and "the called of the congregation" when Joshua resigned his office. But the grand encampment below was shorn of its proportions. The trans-Jordan tribes were only represented by their princes and members of the senate with their families and necessary servants. The army of reserves for any emergency, encamped not far off, excepted, the soldiery and the laboring classes were mostly elsewhere employed.

Shiloh is near the center of the territory of Ephraim, Joshua's tribe, and from this moment the influence of Judah waned and its leadership was lost; the sceptre departed from him and the ruler's staff from between his feet, until they were regained under David. They were again lost from Rehoboam to Hezekiah, when the destruction of the northern kingdom made Judah the focus to which all Jahvist remnants of the Hebrew peoples gathered, literally or figuratively, thenceforth even to our own days. They who hold the so-called Jacob's Blessing for a composition of the Davidian or Hezekian era or even later, find in these facts a satisfactory interpretation of Gen. XLIX. 8-12.

We hold the speech of Caleb¹ to be authentic in substance, and that it proves the encampment to have remained in Shiloh five years; but on what grounds Joshua's conquests are stated to have occupied ten years and that he ruled Israel twenty-five has nowhere been made clear to the writer. The combined tribal forces conquered the trans-Jordan territory, took Jericho and Ai, subdued southern Canaan and, later, Jabin and his confederates.

Nowhere else do we find them acting together on any large scale. It was the policy of the Hebrew leaders to open the country by jointly breaking the power of the principal chieftains and peoples and then to leave it for each tribe to complete the subjugation of its particular territory by its own strength and valor. Thus, when Ephraim and Manasseh appealed to Joshua to employ the combined army to clear their district of Canaanites, he refused to do for them what he would not do for the other tribes. His reply to their importunities is a fine specimen of humorous and biting sarcasm.²

The very common map, "Canaan under Joshua and the Judges,"

¹ Joshua xiv, 6, et seq.

² ib. xvii, 14, et seq.

shows at a glance what a lion's share the children of Joseph obtained (as is stated, by lot). It was only by combining that Ephraim and Manasseh surpassed in numbers Judah, Issachar, Zebulon and Dan. The apportionment by lot in their case must have been a dead letter, for, if the richness and other advantages of their territory had been considered, their space on the map instead of being double that of any other two tribes would have been much less.

They and Judah carried their point as the trans-Jordan tribes had theirs; and this being acquiesced in, the remaining tribes evidently were granted the privilege of exchanging districts or otherwise modifying the results of the casting of the lots. They were Simeon, Dan, Benjamin, Issachar, Naphtali and Asher. The country north of Ephraim and Manasseh was divided into four districts; between Judah and Ephraim two districts were reserved, one on the east lying on the Jordan and one on the west; the seventh was south of Dan. To a commission of three men from each tribe was assigned the task of defining the limits of these districts so that they, all things considered, should be approximately of equal value. In a purely agricultural country the denseness of the population is a fair criterion of the comparative worth of its parts; and this is measured by the number and size of its towns and villages. The duty of the commission was to ascertain this. "And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven parts in a book, and came *again* to Joshua to the host at Shiloh." Upon their report the division was made.

The refusal of the tribes in the next generation to aid each other when invaded and the general lack of sympathy between them, as related in Judges and the pseudo Song of Deborah, may justly be attributed to jealousies and animosities engendered among the younger princes during the debates upon, and the settlement of, the great question of territorial division. But the influence of Joshua, Eleazar and the faithful old men born in Goshen was sufficient for the present to preserve peace and harmony.

The distribution of the Levites among the tribes was also no holiday task. In short, Joshua and the assembly had abundant occupation through the five years that had now elapsed since the crossing of the Jordan. "So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war." The trans-Jordan contingents were now dismissed with well de-

served commendation. The touching story of the altar built by them¹ contains the assembly's last recorded act of administration—the appointment of the delegation to investigate the facts in that case.

The last two chapters of Joshua are different records of one and the same transaction at this time in Shiloh, not "a long time after" at Shechem. It was that grand, solemn, last meeting of the assembly and all the leading men of the tribes who could be present, at which Joshua resigned his position, and all present listened to his parting advice and renewed their vows of obedience to Jahveh. We—the writer at least—cannot read these chapters without emotion; for reason and fancy depict the closing scenes in vivid colors.

By the descriptions of Shiloh accessible to the writer, which at the best are but meagre, the tabernacle, the tent of meeting and the sub-camp of Joshua and the priests, stood upon a low elevation, a sort of Acropolis, in the center of, and overlooking on all sides, the great encampment below.

We hold that Joshua, to render that final session of the assembly the more impressive, appointed it for the day after all arrangements for raising the encampment were completed, and that at its conclusion the farewells were spoken, the princes and people descended to their tents, and the acropolis was deserted by all except Eleazar, the priests, Joshua and their attendants. Meantime, the army of reserve had separated and each tribal contingent had taken its position near the sub-camp of its chief. The next morning all eyes in the plain below were turned to behold the smoke of morning sacrifice rising from the tabernacle, to most of them for the last time. It was like a benediction of Jahveh. "So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance." When the decreasing smoke announced that the ceremony was over, the silent plain became animated. The military forces and the long trains of pack animals began to move, the tents were struck and laden upon the wagons, the old order of march was of course abandoned, and each tribe with its proportion of Levites and their families, took its way in the direction of its future home. So the long processions for the first time since the departure from Horeb, and never again to be united, moved away from each other in divers courses to the passes between the surrounding hills. There they halt for a space, and all eyes—most of them also for the last time—turn to the distant tabernacle, which for more than forty years had ever been before them in all the encampments. They move on and are lost behind the hills.

¹ Josh. xxii.

Joshua has been described as a man of stern and determined will and, justly, as the great military leader. He has also been represented as of a cold, hard nature. We find no proof of this, nor do we believe it; but be it so; even with such a temperament, he could not have looked down upon all this without overwhelming emotions. Remember, he had grown to manhood in Goshen, the whole history of the exodus and the conquest lay in his memory, from the rising in Egypt to this day, when he stood there by the tabernacle, the final accomplisher of the astonishingly bold and hazardous enterprise, conceived by the mighty genius of Moses in the solitudes of Jebel Araf, organized by him in Goshen and conducted by him to the Jordan, but left uncompleted at his decease there. Joshua's work was now ended. He was no longer the head and leader of the nation. What had the future in store for that multitude of princes, heads of houses and their successors now disappearing behind yonder hills?

By I. Ch. VII. 26-27, Joshua appears to have been after his father Nun, the successor by birthright of Elishama the prince of the tribe of Ephraim in the first chapters of Numbers; but there is nowhere an indication that he ever acted in that capacity, nor is there any record, we think, of any descendants from him. For all that appears, he now retired a private man to his Mt. Vernon, "his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which *is* in Mt. Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash."

NOTE XVII.

WELLHAUSEN AND THE LEVITIC CITIES.

"The bubbles of Wellhausen and Renan" is an expression used on a former page of this essay, where they are said to have been punctured by Graetz in a single short article. It is printed in the *Monatschrift B. XXXV. Heft 5 and 6.*

"One must write a book," he says, "twice as large as Wellhausen's to throw light upon all his errors. They arise for the most part from his lack of discipline in catching the shades of meaning in the (Hebrew) text. Hence, he puts everything topsy-turvy." Again; "One must fill a folio to expose the baselessness of his deductions." Graetz gives but few examples in proof, but they are so striking and to the point as to warrant the expression we have used.

It may be objected that, as Graetz's argument is in the main philological, the present writer, not being a Hebraist, is not a competent

judge. Very true, but he does not sit as judge; he is but the jurymen and decides between Wellhausen and Graetz as between opposing advocates, and, moreover, has also reasons of his own for this decision, which now at the close of this essay can first be duly estimated.

I. Wellhausen's hostility to the genealogies is undisguised. He repeatedly speaks of them as "artful (*künstliche*) compositions," using this mild form of expression to convey the idea that they are systematic fabrications, pure falsehoods. He is compelled to this by the exigencies of his argument, pages on pages of which collapse if the pedigrees of Zadok in Ezra VI. and I. Ch. VI. and of Samuel in I. Sam. and I. Ch. VI. are authentic, as we hold.

II. An argument, at first view apparently very strong, Wellhausen founds upon the several notices of Caleb. He overlooks (suppresses?) the fact that there were two Calebs in the genealogies and elsewhere, the one, son of Hezron and brother of Jerahmeel, the other, son of Jephunneh. Some ten years before the *Prolegomena* were published, Graetz had occasion to use this fact of two Calebs in clearing up certain points in the history of David.¹

That it is a fact is no more to be disputed than any which Wellhausen accepts; and it sweeps away so much of his argument. We now come to the subject of this note.

III. Wellhausen is diffuse upon the forty-eight so-called Levitic cities, which are, according to him, "a historic fiction," a late invention of the fancy, "a practical impossibility," and the like. "Historic traces of the existence of these Levitic cities are nowhere found later than in Joshua."²

Why should there be historic traces of them in a work compiled long after they had all been swept away? Imagine a possible analogous case in our own day, viz: in a compendious history of Massachusetts or New York, during the first century of their existence as independent states. It would very naturally begin with a geographical and topographical introduction in which the counties and county seats would be enumerated; what occasion would there be to mention them again as such? Would the argument from silence be valid, that the paragraphs naming them are pure fiction?

Wellhausen and the writers whom he cites take the male Levites of one month old and upwards as numbering, if they ever existed, the 23,000 of the Masoretic text, which gives at the lowest estimate a thousand indi-

¹ *Geschichte* i. 432.

² *Prolegomena*, p. 166.

viduals of both sexes, or two hundred families to each of the forty-eight cities. On this assumption they argue very justly that the city and its suburbs, occupying less than an English square mile, are absurdly inadequate to the necessities of so many families, for their cattle and for their goods and for all their beasts, no provision being made for their natural multiplication. But it has been shown in discussing the census that the true number of the male Levites was not above three to four thousand, and, therefore, not more than from sixty to eighty, old and young, or twenty-five to thirty families, to the city. The provision of five or six hundred acres of *midbar* for their sole use was peremptory, and this land could not be alienated. It was amply sufficient for the present, and as their numbers increased they, being free to buy houses and lands subject to the Jubilee laws like all other Hebrews, could purchase more in case of necessity. It must not be forgotten that they were not herdsmen nor tillers of the soil. Leviticus XXV. is clear on this matter, and, therefore, very consistently included by Wellhausen among his undoubted fabrications.

"Shechem, Hebron, Ramoth were the capitals of Ephraim, Judah and Gilead; Gibeon, Gezer, Heshbon like them, were important but in no sense (exclusively) priests' cities." This remark in the Prolegomena, modified by the word in the parenthesis, is certainly correct. Graetz, too, supports it. "In the catalogue of Levitic cities the most important place (i. e. the Vorort or capital) of the tribe is first named. Whether the forty-eight cities enumerated were ever abandoned to the Levites is more than doubtful." We add: there is *no* doubt that they never were.

The greatest stickler for literal interpretation cannot be blind to the fact that Shechem, a town so often named, from Genesis to Jeremiah, was never a Levitic city in the sense generally understood, viz: that after the conquest and the utter destruction of its Canaanite people, it was given to, and thenceforth exclusively occupied by, from twenty-five to thirty Levitic families and their descendants. Again: Gezer was a city of Ephraim said to be *given* to the Kohathites; yet we read (Joshua XVI. 10), "And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute;" and again: Joshua "gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh, Hebron for an inheritance. Hebron therefore became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite unto this day."

Yet Hebron was a Levitic city of the Kohathites.¹

These contradictions are too glaring to be denied and there must be a grave error of some kind; and this error is, according to Wellhausen, or springs from, the *pretense*, that Levites and Levitical cities are not a fabrication—not a mere feigned historic basis for a sacerdotal system invented at Babylon. There is another explanation, that which is given in the text.

If the Chronicles are an original, substantially authentic historic work, they refute Wellhausen's arguments on this and divers other points completely. He, therefore, adopting De Wette's views (1806), devotes sixty-one pages octavo of his *Prolegomena* to their scrutiny with the critical microscope, recording every minute variation from the sketches of the Judean Kings in the Great Roll. He sums up his results thus: "It must be concluded that the books of Kings cited by the chronicler stand far apart from authentic tradition and are a late fabrication (*Machwerk*); and the relation of the Chronicles to the canonical books of Kings must be explained as that of an apocryphal embellishment and enlargement of them, in the manner of theologians, when handling sacred history." (p. 236.) But let a prominent adherent of his school speak.

The Chronicles "were written about 300 B. C. and are a reconstruction of the entire history of Israel in order to compel the sanction of that history for that scheme of priestly worship which had been developed in Babylon, and set up in Jerusalem by Ezra and Nehemiah. The perception of the true character of the books of Chronicles as a systematic reconstruction and perversion of the national history in the interest of the priests and Levites, was one of the first results of a more scientific study of the Bible."

"Their author was a Levite of the temple."

"The unconscious idealization of the prophetic histories of Samuel and Kings was sternly critical and splendidly veracious in comparison with the unlicensed freedom of this 'orthodox liar for God.'"

"To maintain their authority and heighten their prestige the Jewish priesthood stopped to falsify the character of men and the course of history, attributing the ceremonial inventions of their own time to the prevision of David and the inspiration of Jahveh."

"The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, in their present form, are by the

¹ Joshua xiv. 13, 14. XXI. 11.

"author of the Chronicles, and were written at the same time; in fact, "they were a part of the Chronicles."¹

On this we only remark:

I. By general consent of experts in biblical criticism, the chronicler, as a man of letters, was a mere plodder, singularly lacking in literary talent, incapable of a well-constructed narrative or of rising above a stiff and awkward diction; yet the Wellhausen argument leads to this, viz: this man erected upon the scattered genealogical notices in the Great Roll a superstructure of false and forged pedigrees so constructed as to bear the closest scrutiny triumphantly.

II. We understand the Wellhausen school to affirm, that no Aaronite priests or Levites had ever existed until they were "invented" at Babylon, and that all notices of them in the Law and Prophets are falsehoods and forgeries. If so, it follows that whenever and wherever this invention was promulgated and found acceptance and belief, it was by a numerous people, myriads of whom had grown to manhood and old age with never a suspicion of the existence among them of a sacerdotal class. Yet they must have known their own and their neighbors' fathers and grandfathers.

Compare now the plain common sense of the Graetz school on the above, point by point.

The Chronicles are, first, a complete list of the Jewish families of pure blood, a century after Nehemiah; and, secondly, a more complete history of the southern kingdom, Judea, as an apology for, or vindication of, the house of David; the object being to produce an invincible historic argument for renewing the act (a generation before Ezra) which expelled Zerubbabel, the "shoot from Jesse's root," from Judea and make Joshua, a shoot from Aaron's root, the head of the commonwealth there.²

The argument produced no effect. The Exilarchs, descendants of David and Zerubbabel, remained heads of the eastern Jews until the destruction of Babylon, and the Aaronite priests, of the Judeans until the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

The chronicler was, in point of fact, a learned Jew of Babylon and, probably, never in Judea. There is no evidence that he ever forged or falsified—certainly not in the interest of the priests and Levites. The writings used in the compilation of the Great Roll still existed in Babylon, from which he drew independently. The more numerous and

¹ Chadwick's "Bible of To-day," pp. 62-65.

² Zech. vi. 11, 12.

extended citations by him from these authorities, the corruptions of his text, of which all Hebraists complain, and other like causes account amply for the passages on which the charges against him are based.

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are not personal memoirs; they are reports of the highest interest and importance to the faithful Jewish communities in Babylon and elsewhere, for whose use sufficient copies were made immediately by the college of Levites. This multiplication of transcriptions secured them effectually from the alleged tampering with them, and the chronicler's lists of the pure families in Judea were copied from them as from well-known authentic, official sources. Read Ezra and Nehemiah with this in mind and argument is needless.

When, after the fall of Jerusalem, the hagiographa were selected from the great mass of the Hebrew literature not yet in the canon, the only historic books accepted were Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, which, therefore, were copied together, and this juxtaposition is the only ground for holding that they, "in their present form are by the chronicler."

The shrewdness and skill of the critical microscopists is not to be denied. Having demolished the Old Testament, we should like to have them take up the histories of England during the last century, or of the United States during this, and subject them to the same process. Who knows what grave errors might be detected? In 1821 it was, as it now is, universally believed that a certain personage, whose ambition and lust of power were said to have bathed scores of battle fields in blood and desolated millions of homes, was then a captive on the island of St. Helena. His story was subjected to this sort of criticism in Whately's *Historic Doubts* relative to Napoleon Bonaparte, published that year. For aught we can see the argument is as effectual as De Wette's, Wellhausen's, and Stade's, and no less so. The genealogical chronology alone, directly and indirectly, demolishes the Wellhausen structure, and it, like Prospero's gorgeous palaces and solemn temples, leaves not a rack behind.

It is to be presumed, then, that there were Levites at Shiloh.

At that time there was certainly a law common to all Hebrews, and it was highly important for the general weal, that after their separation, the unity of the law, its construction and administration should continue. To this end a body of educated men was a necessity. The mere task of learning to interpret the long lines of ancient Hebrew consonants into words and sentences correctly was one of such difficulty, that the proper reading of the law and the public records, supplemented by fixing in the

memory the traditional application of the statutes in practice, employed the student to the age of thirty years. Not until then could he engage in the public business. If these educated men were not Levites who were they?

Much has been written of late years to prove that down to the time of Hezekiah it was free to every man to erect an altar and sacrifice upon it, himself acting as priest. The argument is not to the writer convincing. Of the many cases cited, he finds very few indeed where the phrases, "offered sacrifice, built an altar and sacrificed thereon" and the like, necessarily imply that the offerer of the sacrifice performed in person the religious rite. "Who acts through another, acts himself," applies here. The introducing of Levites into the apocryphal stories that end the Book of Judges, to give them local coloring, supports our suggestion, and it is borne out by the well-known passage in the so-called blessing of Moses:

"They (the Levites) shall teach to Jacob thy law
And to Israel thy doctrine.
They shall lay incense before thy nostrils
And whole burnt offerings upon thy altars."

Graetz's version.

Besides these duties, though excluded from tribal affairs, the Levites executed justice between man and man of the common people; administered the very peculiar laws and regulations for the transfer of property and personal service (Lev. XXV.); kept the public registers and archives from which Iddo and others compiled their books of Genealogies; collected the tithes and forwarded a tenth of them to the Aaronite priesthood. In short, these small colonies of Levites were to Canaan, what priests and monks were to England at a period when so large a proportion of the nobility and gentry could not write their names.

"Then came near the heads of the fathers of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel: And they spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The Lord commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the suburbs thereof for our cattle. And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance, at the commandment of the Lord, these cities and their suburbs." For the words *give* and *gave*, read *appoint* or *appointed* and all is clear.

The Levitic cities, which have been identified, were all places of note, and the addition of twenty-five to thirty families would hardly be perceptible. The descriptive lists of cities and towns rendered it easy to determine the stations that would afford the Levites the best fields for the exercise of their functions and the people the greatest facilities to benefit by them. There was probably not a country village in all Canaan a dozen miles distant from at least one Levitic station.

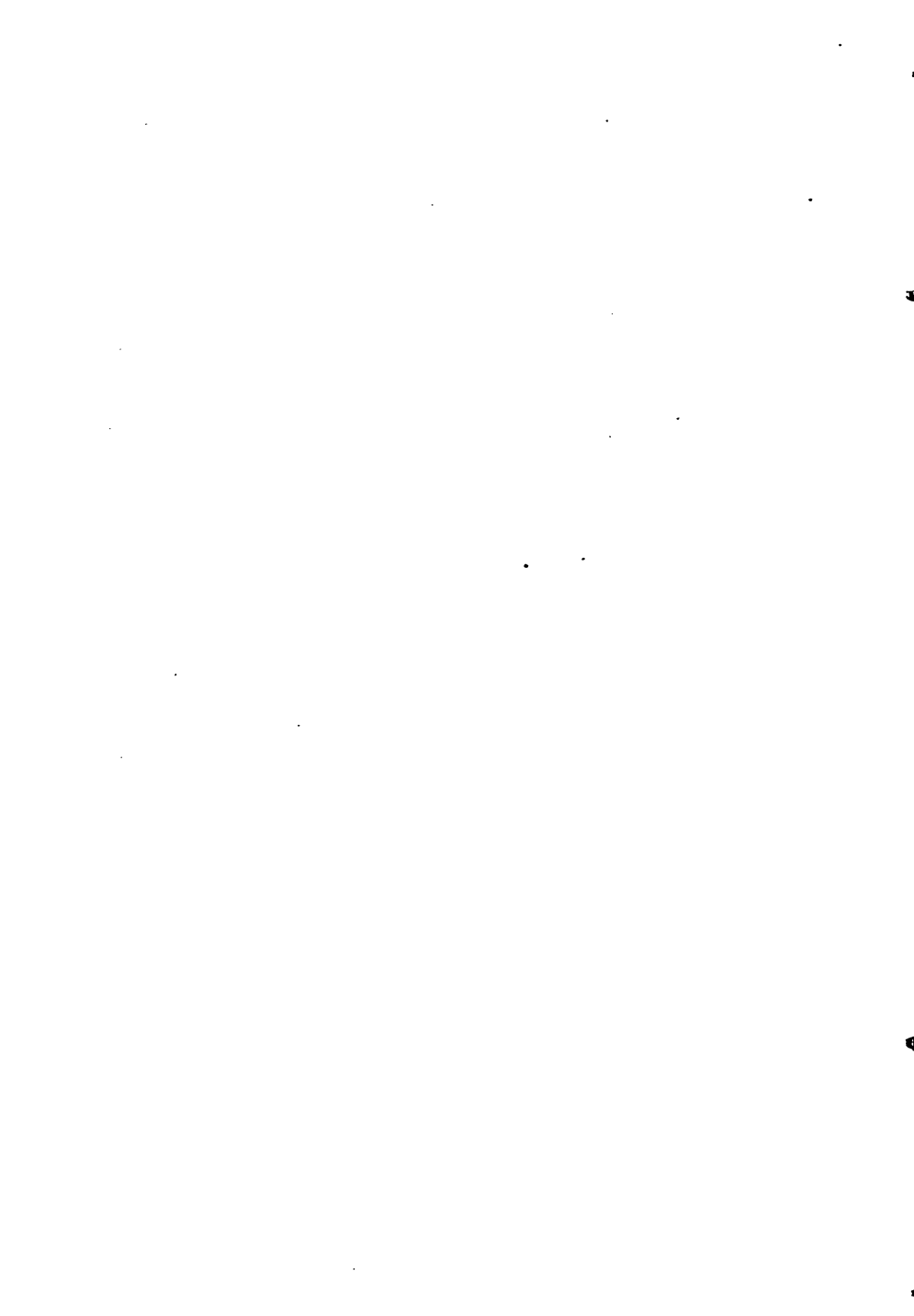
The lists in Josh. XXI. bear all the marks of authenticity and of having been drawn from the records of scribes made at the time. But there is one fact in this chapter, unless it be one of the supposed forgeries, and a remarkably skillful one, that may escape the notice of the reader unless pointed out.

In the arrangement of the camp (ante pp. 201-203) the Kohathites, to whom Aaron and Moses belonged, were stationed near Judah, and the heads of their families were brought into a more intimate association than with others. In the distribution of the Levites, the twenty-three stations of the Kohathites are all in contiguous territory, their central point being Hebron, the capital of Judah. In that tribe and Simeon, the stations were nine, in Dan four, in Benjamin four, Ephraim four, and Manasseh two.

The Merari families had their stations, in Reuben four, Gad four, and, crossing the Jordan near Lake Genesareth, in Zebulon, four; twelve in all.

The Gershonites had theirs in trans-Jordan Manasseh two, then, crossing the upper Jordan, in Naphtali, three, in Asher four and in Issachar four; in all thirteen.

There appears to be an error of transcription in regard to Issachar and Zebulon. As the text now stands the contiguity of territory is broken by Zebulon. Change the stations in these two tribes from the one to the other and it is restored.



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Figure 1 consists of three schematic diagrams labeled (a), (b), and (c), each showing a sequence of trials for 10 subjects. Diagram (a) is labeled 'Pretest' and shows a sequence of 10 trials, each with a subject icon and a trial number. Diagram (b) is labeled 'Main experiment' and shows a sequence of 10 trials, each with a subject icon and a trial number. Diagram (c) is labeled 'Posttest' and shows a sequence of 10 trials, each with a subject icon and a trial number.

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